

Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest 1680-1682

Introduction and Annotations by

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PREFACE

After 1869, when W. W. H. Davis published his popular history of *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, practically no new light was thrown upon the events attending the revolt of the Pueblo Indians of that province in 1680 until the publication by the author, between 1911 and 1916, of a series of monographs dealing with this rebellion and with the efforts of the Spaniards, until the early part of 1682, to reconquer them.¹ For the preparation of that part of his book dealing with the subject, Davis used principally the *Extractos*² of the *autos* of the revolt and of the first attempt at reconquest which he found at Santa Fe. But in the early part of this century, there were brought to light in the Mexican archives the original *autos* themselves; and a comparison of them with the *Extractos* shows that the latter are relatively very meager indeed. This fact, together with renewed and growing interest in the history of the Spanish Southwest, seemed to be ample justification for studying anew this important period in the Spanish regime in New Mexico.

The *autos* referred to consist of documents drawn up, in official and authentic form during the progress of the revolt, the defense by the Spaniards, the retreat, the reorganization at Paso del Norte (Juárez), and the reconquest. They comprise acts

1. The monographs referred to are:

"The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680," in *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, xv, pp. 93-147.

"The Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680, and the Beginnings of El Paso," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, xvi, pp. 137-168, 259-276.

"Otermín's Attempt to Reconquer New Mexico, 1681-1682," in *Old Santa Fe*, iii, pp. 44-84, 103-132.

2. The author's knowledge of the *Extractos* is based on the copy contained in the Bancroft Collection, at the University of California, and on the notes given by Bancroft and Bandelier. The title of these documents, as given by Bancroft, is *Otermín, Extractos de Doc. Hist. N. Mex., sacados de los autos existentes en el oficio del Supremo gobierno de esta corte, que sobre el Levantamiento del año de 1680 formo Don Antonio de Otermín, gobernador y capitán general del mismo reino* (Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 177). A copy of these documents is also found in Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Sección de Historia, Tomo 26.

of the cabildo of Santa Fe; sworn declarations by witnesses to events; orders of the governor; letters written by him, Ayeta, and other persons prominent in the period; proceedings of juntas, or councils, held to discuss the difficulties; acts of the government at Mexico city, etc. Those covering the period 1680-1682 consist of 243 folios, or twice that number of pages, small folio size, of original manuscript. They are contained in two expedientes of documents. The first is entitled: *Auttos tocantes al Alsamiento de los Yndios de la Provincia de la Nueva Mexico*.³ The title of the second is: *Autos Pertenecientes a el alçamiento de los Yndios de la Provincia del Nuevo Mexico y la entrada, Y subçesos de ella que se hiço para su recuperacion*.⁴ These documents were found in the early 1900's in the archives of Mexico by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton; and a complete transcript of them, as well as of those for the period following, were secured by him, and by him copies of the two expedientes later were presented to the author. The two expedientes are cited hereinafter as *Auttos tocantes* and *Autos Pertenecientes*.

More than a quarter of a century ago, *Auttos tocantes* and *Autos Pertenecientes* constituted the chief sources—though not literally the only ones—for the narrative of the Pueblo rebellion and of Governor Otermín's attempt to conquer the Pueblos; the same holds true to-day. Nevertheless, some documents that were not made use of by the author in his studies have now become available to him. Their contents have supplemented more than complemented the first-mentioned sources and do not, therefore, necessitate an extensive revision of the author's earlier studies.

The author was invited by the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission in 1939 "to prepare a two-volume work on the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in New Mexico," which, it was stated, "should contain the chief documents of this event," together

3. It is further described as *Num 27 de los Papeles del Supor. Govmo. Año de 1681. Segundo quaderno de. Numo. 6. Pa remitir a leon. Srio. Don Pedro Velasques de la Cadena. Expediente no. 6. N. fojas 123*. The original is in the Archivo General y Público de la Nación, México, Sección de Provincias Internas, Tomo 37.

4. It is further described as *Varios Hechos de los Indios de Nuevo Mejico Numo 2° Año de 1682 Expediente no. 2 y fojas 120. Srio. D. Pedro Velasquez de la Cadena*. The original is in the Archivo General y Público de la Nación, México, Sección de Provincias Internas, Tomo 34.

with "an appropriate introduction." Later, it was agreed that only the English translations of the original documents should be published; also, that an effort would be made to include translations of all known documents relating to the revolt that originated during the administration of Governor Antonio de Otermín "from the outbreak of the Pueblo Rebellion on August 10, 1680, until his return [to El Paso] from his attempted reconquest of New Mexico" in the winter of 1681-1682.

The first task of the author, after accepting this assignment, was to have assembled all known documents relating to the rebellion, including, of course, those that were to be found in *Autos tocantes* and *Autos Pertenecientes*. In this he was most ably assisted by Dr. Charmion Clair Shelby. As a result, copies were assembled from various depositories, including the University of California, the Library of Congress, and the Museum of New Mexico, at Santa Fe, and from the Bandelier collection. The latter collection furnished the author with the selected materials that went into *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, 3 volumes (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1923, 1926, 1937); and, at the completion of volume III in that series, this collection was deposited in the library of the University of Texas by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. However, only a few fundamentally important documents of a general character that relate to the Pueblo rebellion and that were in the Bandelier collection were translated and published in volume III of the last-mentioned series; other documents in the Bandelier collection are herein translated and published for the first time.

One compilation of sources, frequently referred to in the author's second original monograph ("The Retreat of the Spaniards . . .," comprising sections v-x of the Introduction to the present volumes) as *N. Mex. Docs.*, is actually entitled *Documentos para la Historia de Nuevo Mexico*. This compilation, in three volumes, consists of transcripts in the Bancroft collection of the University of California of miscellaneous documents that chiefly are to be found in the Archivo General de Mexico, Sección de Historia, tomos 25 and 26. Since transcripts

of this same compilation of documents are in the Bandelier transcripts in the library of the University of Texas, the latter transcripts have been used in making translations of the documents therefrom that are published in this volume.

The second task of the author was to prepare, as previously requested, "an appropriate introduction." In this connection, Dr. George P. Hammond, of the University of New Mexico, wrote the author on September 4, 1940, as follows:

I, too, have been thinking over the problem you face, and have come to the same conclusion that you reached long ago, namely, that we probably ought to reprint your earlier study of the Pueblo Rebellion . . . I concur in your judgment, therefore, that your earlier articles might be revised as you deem appropriate and reprinted as your introduction.

In the original monographs as herein reprinted (with revisions) as an Introduction, citations were made in the footnotes to the Spanish titles of documents in the various expedientes that were used. In the present Introduction, these citations, as originally printed, have been retained, despite the fact that the titles of documents as herein translated and printed in the body of this work are in English. However, immediately following each footnote citation in this Introduction, the location of each document as herein translated is indicated with page references in parentheses.

CHARLES WILSON HACKETT

Austin, Texas,
December 14, 1940.

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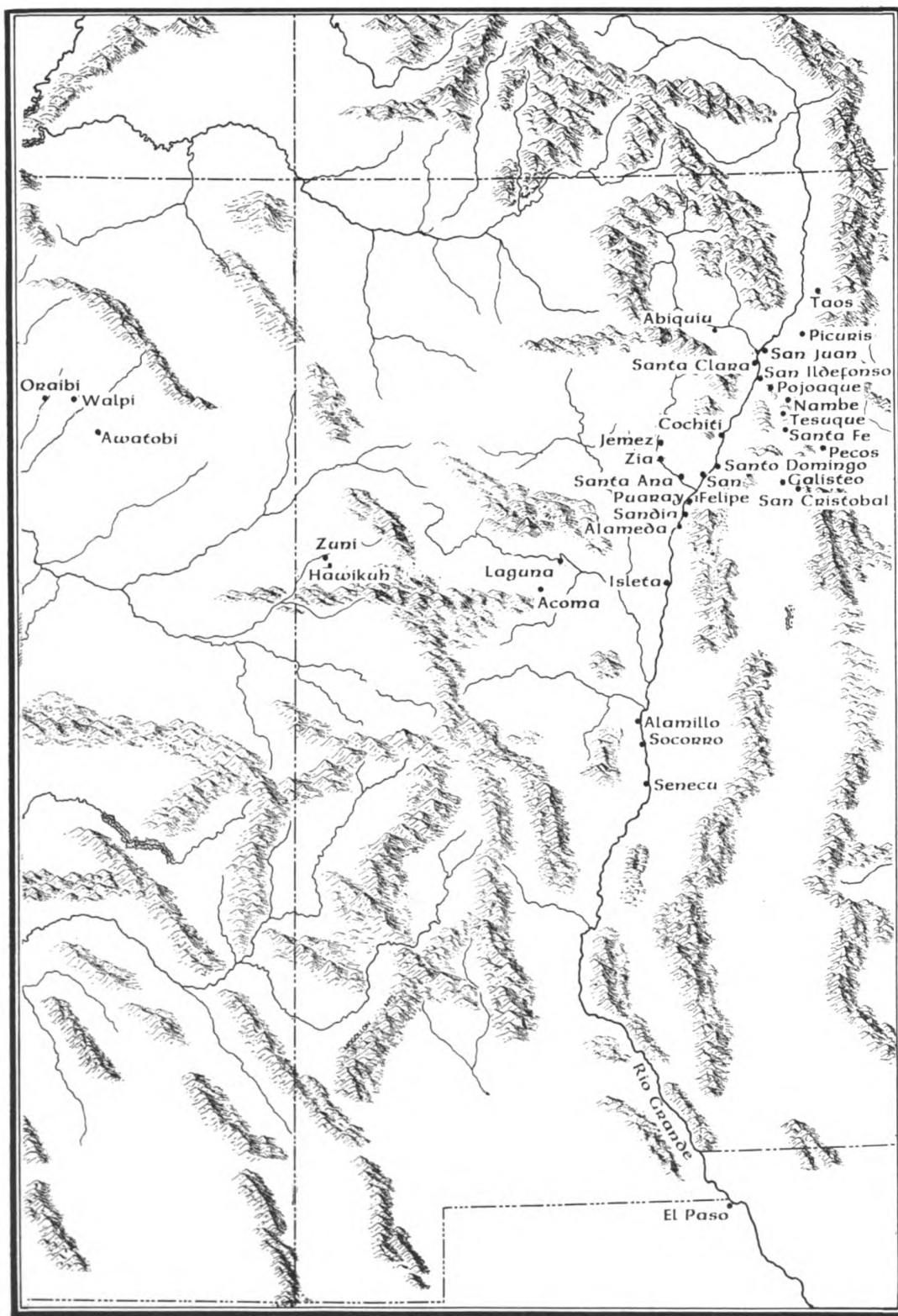
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Principal places in New Mexico in 1680.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I. NEW MEXICO ON THE EVE OF THE PUEBLO REBELLION, 1670-1680

As a background for the Pueblo Indian uprising in New Mexico in 1680, only a brief glimpse of the province on the eve of the rebellion will be given here. Following the turbulent administration of Governor Don Bernardo López de Mendizabal (1659-1661) and the even more turbulent one of his successor, Don Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa Briceño y Berdugo (1661-1664),

New Mexico was to enjoy a measurable degree of peace in administrative affairs until the outbreak of the Pueblo Indian rebellion in 1680. The province experienced, however, a goodly share of near and actual disasters of a different character. In 1670 almost half the population of New Mexico, both Spanish and Indian, only escaped starvation during a great famine by eating "the hides that they had and the straps of the carts, preparing them for food by soaking and washing them and roasting them in the fire with maize, and boiling them with herbs and roots." The next year, 1671, a great pestilence carried off many people and cattle. "Shortly thereafter, in the year, 1672, the hostile Apaches . . . rebelled . . . and the . . . province was totally sacked and robbed by attacks and outrages, especially of cattle and sheep, of which it previously had been very productive."

In the face of famine, pestilence, and Indian hostility in the province of New Mexico, "grave fears for the future existed." Indeed, had it not been for the liberal aid granted to the secular and religious authorities by the crown at this time the fate of the province can only be conjectured. Scholes has presented a full and complete survey of "the regular caravan service, specially organized for the purpose of transporting supplies to New Mexico," from the time that the province of New Mexico became a crown colony under Governor Peralta (1609) until this service, "under contract with the friars or a lay-

man, came to an end," in 1674. "But this was not the end of the supply service. The transportation of supplies continued, but in such form as the procurator-general wished to arrange." Scholes says: "With the royal alms paid in 1674 the procurator-general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, purchased wagons and mules for the account of the Order and transported the usual supplies. Fray Ayeta was one of the four or five outstanding figures in the New Mexican church in the seventeenth century—ranking with Benavides, Perea, Bishop Manso, and Posada. . . . When Ayeta arrived in New Mexico in 1675 he found the province in desperate straits [as the result of the effects of the Church and State conflict on both Pueblo and nomadic tribes, drought, and famine]. It was decided, therefore, that Ayeta, on his return to Mexico City, should advise the viceroy concerning the situation and appeal for aid."¹

Ayeta secured the requested aid; and from it and the accompanying escort of armed soldiers, the Spaniards of New Mexico, after the uprising of August, 1680, received much-needed aid on their retreat to the El Paso del Río del Norte region. This will be narrated in later pages.

In 1680, there were approximately 2,800 Spanish inhabitants² in the province of New Mexico. Of this number, the majority were settlers of the southern district, known as Río Abajo, while the rest were for the most part living in the vicinity of the villa of Santa Fe. The occupation of the people was largely stock raising and intensive agriculture; and while there was no regular presidio, there were a number of regular soldiers at Santa Fe. Besides the settlers and soldiers, there were the thirty-two Franciscan missionaries³ distributed throughout the province. The governor and captain-general was Don Antonio de Otermín, while his appointee, Alonso García, served as lieutenant governor and captain-general in Río Abajo.

1. C. W. Hackett, "Introduction," in *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, III, pp. 17-18, and references there cited.

2. This figure is challenged by Scholes, who estimates that the total Spanish population "probably never exceeded twenty-five hundred during the period from 1598 to 1680." See author's reply to this estimate in Hackett, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 372-378, note 133.

3. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 179.

The number of Christianized natives in New Mexico in 1680 was about 16,000. This did not include the heathen tribes who were allied with the revolt, and who occupied territory extending more than two hundred leagues from Santa Fe.⁴ The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico comprised three linguistic groups or stocks—the Zuñian, the Tanoan, and the Keresan (Queres). The Zuñian family occupied three pueblos in the extreme western part of New Mexico, and its total population numbered at that time about 2,500 inhabitants. The other two families were located in the valley of the Río Grande, where they were divided into a number of tribes, or nations, as the Spaniards spoke of them, each of which was practically independent of any tribal or national domination and free to act as its councils saw fit. Of these two families, the Tanoan was the largest; it comprised the five important tribes of the Piros, Tigua (*Tiguas*), Tanos (*Tagnos*), Jemez (*Xemes* or *Hemes*), and Tewa (*Teguas*) Indians.⁵ The Keresan family was not nearly so large. It was divided into the western and eastern groups, the former comprising the inhabitants of the pueblo of Acoma and its environs, and the latter occupying the country north of the junction of the Río Grande and Río Jemez. Of these, only the Piros remained friendly to the Spaniards. Other details concerning individual tribes, with citations of sources thereto, are given further on.

Here only a bare mention of what seem to have been the underlying causes of the revolt will be attempted.⁶ In the first

4. *Auto* of the Cabildo of Santa Fe, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 73-75 (*infra*, I, p. 180).

5. In the spelling of the names of the Indian tribes and pueblos, the forms used in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, have been followed. In the documentary sources used, there is, as a usual thing, a variety of forms for all of these names. Tewa and Tanos, however, are practically always spelled *Teguas* and *Tagnos*.

6. The following original documents have been consulted for the causes of the revolt: "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 55-56 (*infra*, II, pp. 292-303); "declaracion de un Yndio Xptiano de los alsados que se cojio en el Camino," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 12-13 (*infra*, I, pp. 60-61); *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 1-2 (*infra*, I, pp. 3-5); *ibid.*, f. 13 (*infra*, I, p. 61); "declaracion del sarjento mor, luis de quintana," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 50-51 (*infra*, II, pp. 285-292); *Auto* of Ayeta, in *ibid.*, f. 59 (*infra*, II, pp. 309-310); "declaracion de Josephe Yndio Ladino—," in *ibid.*, f. 24 (*infra*, II, p. 239); "declaracion de Po garcia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 10-11 (*infra*, I, pp. 23-25); "declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos*

place, the efforts of the Spaniards to suppress not only the religious beliefs but also the ancient habits and customs of the Indians in other respects, and to make them conform to European methods of living, created friction between the two races. The Indians, however, continued well grounded in their native religious beliefs and practices,⁷ and the Spaniards found it practically impossible to suppress them, either by the number of missionaries brought in, or by the severity of the punishments inflicted. In 1675, these "superstitious practices" reached such alarming extremes that Governor Treviño determined to stamp them out for good. Having captured forty-seven medicine men, who were alleged to be guilty of sorcery and witchcraft, he hanged three of them, as a warning to future soothsayers, and inflicted severe punishment upon the others, among whom was a certain native named Popé. Davis⁸ has a wrong impression of the part which Popé took in the affairs of 1675. He makes the statement that this Indian was the leader of a band of seventy Tewa warriors who went down to Santa Fe to demand the release of the forty-seven imprisoned medicine men. Popé, however, was one of the medicine men whose release the Tewa warriors effectively demanded of Governor Treviño.⁹ The story of the activities of Popé from that time until 1680 are most interesting. On being released from captivity in 1675, he returned to his pueblo, smarting under the punishment he had received, and full of resentment for the Spaniards. He at once began making preparations for a general revolt, and being driven from San Juan by the continued persecutions of the *maestre de campo*, Francisco Xavier, he moved his base of operations to Taos. There he arrogated unto himself supernatural power, claiming to be directed in all his movements by three infernal spirits named Caudi, Tilini, and Tleume, who visited him in

7. "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 55-56 (*infra*, II, pp. 292-303).

8. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 285.

9. See "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *Autos Pertenecientes*; f. 56 (*infra*, II, p. 301); Testimony of Ayeta, in *ibid.*, f. 60 (*infra*, II, p. 310).

Pertenecientes, f. 22 (*infra*, II, pp. 233-234); "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de nacion queres," in *ibid.*; ff. 26-27 (*infra*, II, pp. 245-247); "Auto y diligencia (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 5-7 (*infra*, I, pp. 12-16); "declaracion de un indio alsado," in *ibid.*, f. 9 (*infra*, I, pp. 19-21).

the estufa of that pueblo. These spirits, it was believed, were working for a revolt in conjunction with the lieutenant of their war god, Montezuma, in the far-off land of Po-he-yemu. The combined influences of all these beliefs cannot be overestimated. Other miscellaneous influences, such as the offering of prizes to the warriors by the chiefs; the belief that the Spaniards could all be driven out of the country; and the almost universal desire to return to their ancient customs, all operated to make the revolt of the Indians general.

II. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE REVOLT

THE PLANS OF THE ALLIES

Many meetings of the revolutionary chiefs and medicine men of the northern pueblos and the personal influence of Popé finally resulted in the formulation of plans for a general revolt. The greatest secrecy, however, was enjoined. Only the leaders were intrusted with the plot until a short while before the outbreak; and because Popé believed his son-in-law, Nicolás Bua, Indian governor of the pueblo of San Juan, was planning to inform the Spaniards of their evil intentions, he killed him in his own house.¹ The plans as arranged were for the Indians of the different pueblos all over the province at a set time, suddenly to seize the arms of the unsuspecting Spaniards in their midst, fall upon them, and put an end to as many of them as possible, sparing neither men, women, children, nor missionaries.² All the roads were to be guarded and every avenue of escape blocked for the inhabitants of the outlying districts; while the villa of Santa Fe was to be cut off from the more populous settlements of Río Abajo by the occupation of a district of more than thirty leagues' extent in the center of the province.³ With all the pueblos, mountain slopes, and paths infested by Pueblo warriors, who were to be aided by their ancient enemies, the Apaches,⁴ it was thought that the destruction of the governor,

1. "Declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 21 (*infra*, II, p. 234).

2. *Auto* of the Cabildo of Santa Fe, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 73-75 (*infra*, I, p. 177).

3. "Auto de Junta de guerra," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 61-62 (*infra*, I, p. 160).

4. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 1 (*infra*, I, pp. 3-4); "Auto y diligencia," in *ibid.*, f. 6 (*infra*, I, p. 13); "Auto (de Otermín): Salieron el día 22," in *ibid.*, f. 7 (*infra*, I, p. 17). Just how much aid the Pueblos were expecting from the Apaches cannot be inferred. That it was the current belief that aid was to be had from them, however, the documents noted above, as well as others cited below, state clearly. On the other hand it cannot be determined how many Apache tribes did take sides with the Pueblos, nor just how much aid they were to them. It is definitely stated, however, that the Apaches in northern New Mexico took part in the massacre of the Spaniards there.—*Autos tocantes*, f. 22 (*infra*, I, p. 72).

the people of the villa, and the few settlers from outside who might take refuge there, would be inevitable, while those who escaped the general slaughter in Río Abajo would be killed by the allies of the Pueblos, the Mansos Indians of the south,⁵ near El Paso. Having meted out their vengeance on the settlers of the different jurisdictions, robbed their houses, driven off the horses and cattle from their haciendas and estancias, burned the churches, and profaned and destroyed their sacred contents, the whole body of warriors from all over the province was to assemble at Santa Fe,⁶ where the final scenes of the general slaughter, as they thought, would be enacted, and the last vestige of Spanish authority in New Mexico overthrown, after which the natives would return to their ancient customs.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE DATE, AND THE NOTIFICATION OF THE PUEBLOS

With the plans for the rebellion formulated, and with practically all the natives of the entire province ready to obey his commands, Popé had now only to name the day. Acting, as he said, under the orders of the three infernal spirits in the estufa of Taos,⁷ he sent out a cord with some knots tied in it to represent the number of days that should intervene before the revolt. Davis⁸ erroneously states that these knots designated the 10th as the day for the uprising, while Bancroft⁹ is under the impression that the 13th was meant. The evidence shows conclusively, however, that the knots indicated the 11th of August as the date set for the outbreak of the revolt.¹⁰ The cord was carried from

5. *Auto* of the Cabildo of Santa Fe, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 73-75 (*infra*, I, pp. 180-181).

6. "Auto (de Otermín) : Salieron el día 22," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 7-8 (*infra*, I, p. 17).

7. "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de naçion queres," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 27 (*infra*, II, p. 246).

8. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, pp. 288-290.

9. *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 176.

10. Regarding the date originally arranged for the revolt, and the date which the knotted cord signified, there is some confusion. The original plan seems to have been to rise on the 13th, for on the 9th Otermín in Santa Fe received three reports to that effect from three different and widely separated sources. The first one of these was from the father visitor, Fray Juan Bernal, at Galisteo, the second from the father preacher, Fray Fernando de Velasco, at Pecos, and the third from the *alcalde mayor*, Marcos de Dehezas, at Taos. On the same

pueblo to pueblo by the swiftest runners, the chiefs of each receiving it and passing it on to those in the next.¹¹ In this way the message sped through the whole province as far south as Isleta,¹² only the Piros nation being slighted. The bearers were enjoined to the strictest secrecy and were threatened with death if they revealed to improper persons the significance of the cord.¹³

11. "Declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 22 (*infra*, II, p. 234); "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de naçion queres," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 27 (*infra*, II, p. 246).

12. It is possible that the same cord did not pass to all the pueblos, for it is mentioned in one place as being a leather strap (*una correa de gamusa*), and in another as being made of the fibers of plants (*Un mecate de palmilla*).

13. As to the full meaning of the knotted cord there is also some confusion. All the testimony on this subject is plain in stating that the number of knots signified the number of days that were to intervene before the revolt.—See: Testimony of Catua and Omtua, *Auto of Otermín*, *Autos tocantes*, ff. 1-2 (*infra*, I, pp. 3-5); "declaracion del Indio Juan," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 22 (*infra*, II, pp. 234-235); "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de naçion queres," in *ibid.*, f. 27 (*infra*, II, p. 246). Pedro Naranjo, however, the last Indian deponent who makes

day, moreover, the Indian governors and captains of the Tanos pueblos, and those of San Marcos and La Ciénega, who were all unwilling to agree to the plans as presented to them by the representatives from Tesuque, named Catua and Omtua, betrayed these plans to the governor, stating to him that the 13th was the day set, but they made no reference to a knotted cord. However, Catua and Omtua, on being arrested and brought before Otermín, testified, also on the 9th, that they had been given a cord with two knots in it, to carry to the Tanos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega chiefs, and that this signified that only two days remained before they were to revolt. (... "dandoles dos nudos en vna correa de gamusa que significaban los dos dias que faltaban pa. la execucion de su traision.") This would make the 11th the date settled upon, and that date is further established by the testimony of a Queres Indian, named Pedro Naranjo, who was examined by Otermín in 1681, when the latter was attempting a reconquest of the province, and who testified definitely that Catua and Omtua were captured two days before the time set for the revolt. (... "y tteniendolo assi dispuesto dos dias antes de la ejecucion por Tener noticia su ssa, y auer presso dos Yndios Conpllices del pueblo de tesuque.")

The question now arises, why did the Tanos chiefs who had just been visited by Catua and Omtua tell Otermín that the date agreed upon was the 13th? The following answer is suggested: As has already been stated, the original date agreed upon seems to have been the 13th, but evidently, for some reason not stated, this date was changed. Accordingly, when Catua and Omtua reached the Tanos pueblos, finding their chiefs opposed to the revolt, and fearing to divulge the new date, they probably led them to believe that the 13th was still the date agreed upon, in this way making excuse for their presence among them. Not knowing of their deception, therefore, the chiefs told Otermín that the date for the revolt was the 13th. For the evidence on this subject see: *Auto of Otermín*, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 1-2 (*infra*, I, pp. 3-5); "declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 22 (*infra*, II, pp. 234-235); "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de naçion queres," in *ibid.*, f. 27 (*infra*, II, p. 246).

THE DISCOVERY OF THE PLOT, AND THE PREMATURE UPRISING

Notwithstanding the strict secrecy that was enjoined upon the bearers of the knotted cord, the plot was discovered on the 9th of August, only two days before the uprising was to take place. Davis says that "two days before the time fixed upon, two Indians of Tezuque went down to Santa Fe, and divulged the conspiracy to the Spanish governor. They were parties to it, but betrayed their country and the cause to the enemy."¹⁴ In this statement the writer has again conveyed a wrong impression, for the two Indians of Tesuque did not voluntarily go down to Santa Fe to divulge the plans of the allies. The facts in the case are as follows: On August 9 Otermín learned from the Tanos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega chiefs that two Indians named Catua and Omtua had brought them the order to take part in the contemplated revolt. Immediately upon learning this, Otermín dispatched the maestro de campo, Francisco Gómez

14. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 290.

any reference to the subject, says further, that the cord ran through all the pueblos of the kingdom, in order that whatever pueblo might join in it should untie a knot in sign of obedience, and by the remaining knots they would know the days that were lacking for the revolt. (... "y le dijeron que hiciesse Un mecate de palmilla y en el amarrasse Vnos nudos que era la Significacion de los dias que hauian de Tardar en alçarse y que dho mecate Corrio por Todos pueblos del reyno pa aquel que Viniessse en ello desattasse Vn nudo en señal de obedeçimiento y por los demas nudos Conçieran los dias falttauan y esto fue con pena de muerte a los que no vinieran en ellos" ...) The only explanation for such a statement is that the Indian confused the time element with the way the pueblos were to signify their obedience to the order of the allies to make the revolt general. This inference is supported, further along, by the statement of the same Indian to the effect that all the pueblos had been instructed to make known their intention of joining in the treason by smoke signals. (... "y en el señal de auisso de hauer admittido la traycion Y alebossias lebantassen Vmos de lo dho en cada Vno de por ssi" ...) In drawing my conclusion on this subject I think, therefore, that the preponderance of evidence shows that the knotted cord was primarily a means of notifying the pueblos of the date determined upon, and that the sign of their obedience was not to be shown by untying a knot, as Davis concluded. The evidence, however, does imply that some knots in the cord were untied, for the Indian Juan stated that Popé tied a number of knots in the cord, while Catua and Omtua testified that when it was given to them it had only two knots. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that for every day that passed while the cord was in the process of circulation, one knot was taken out in order to avoid confusion in the matter of the date. This last testimony of Catua and Omtua also implies that a knot was not to be taken out by each pueblo in sign of obedience, for there were yet to be visited three Tanos pueblos and those of San Marcos and La Ciénega when Catua and Omtua started on their mission from Tesuque, with only two knots in the cord.

Robledo, to arrest Catua and Omtua, and by him on the same day they were carried as prisoners before the governor. Having been duly sworn to tell the truth, these Indians stated all that they knew concerning the revolt. They testified that a cord with two knots, which signified the number of days that were to intervene before the revolt, had been given to them to carry in all secrecy to the Tanos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega chiefs; that with it they carried the threat of the allies that any Indian or pueblo not taking part in the revolt would be destroyed; and that the chiefs of one of the pueblos had been unwilling to receive the message which they carried. Concerning the causes of the revolt they stated that they knew nothing, since they had not taken part in the councils of the old men of the northern pueblos, where the plans for the revolt were formulated.¹⁵

The capture of Catua and Omtua created consternation among the other natives of Tesuque, and, believing that their plans were discovered, they resolved upon haste as being their only hope to successfully carry out the revolt. Accordingly, it was decided that the plans should be put into execution prematurely that night.¹⁶ It took time to spread the news, but practically all the northern pueblos, including San Juan and Taos, were notified in time to begin the revolt at about day-break of the morning of Saturday, August 10.¹⁷ In the more distant pueblos, however, as Santo Domingo and Jemez, and those of Río Abajo, the attack began later in the day, since it took the messengers from Tesuque longer to reach them.¹⁸ It is plain, therefore, that the statement of Otermín that at one hour of the same day the revolt began all over the province, though essentially the fact, is not literally true.¹⁹

15. *Auto of Otermín*, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 1 (*infra*, I, pp. 3-5).

16. "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de naçion queres," in *Autos Pertencientes*, f. 27 (*infra*, II, p. 246) . . . "y auer presso Yndios Conplices del pueblo de tesuque executaron de ynprouisso aquella noche por parecerles eran ya descubiertos."

17. "Auto y declaracion del mro de camPo Franco gomez," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 4 (*infra*, I, pp. 9-10); "declaracion de Po hidalgo . . . Soldado," in *ibid.*, f. 2 (*infra*, I, pp. 6-7).

18. *Auto of García*, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 17-19 (*infra*, I, pp. 65-67); *Auto of García*, in *ibid.*, ff. 21-22 (*infra*, I, pp. 72-75).

19. *Auto of Otermín*, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 86-87 (*infra*, I, pp. 181-182).

III. THE OUTBREAK IN THE PUEBLOS

The actual outbreak of the revolt, as has been stated, took place on the morning of the 10th of August. It is my plan now to set forth this revolt as it actually occurred in the different pueblos. In many cases the evidence is far from being as full as is necessary for a clear understanding, while in other places there are conflicting statements that are not a little confusing. From all the available data bearing on each pueblo, however, an attempt has been made to put together the story for that particular place. The treatment of the subject has been from a purely geographical standpoint, beginning at the north, the hotbed of discontent, and proceeding south, though it has been found that in most cases the geographical divisions agree with the tribal.

AT TAOS AND PICURÍS

In the extreme northern part of the province of New Mexico were the two large and populous Tigua pueblos of Taos and Picurís (Pecurías). These towns were only three leagues apart, the former being situated in a fine valley, the latter upon a height. The native populations in 1680 numbered 2,000 and 3,000 souls respectively.¹ Being of the same tribal stock, these two pueblos were closely and harmoniously allied in all their movements. A previous attempt of the Taoans to free themselves from Spanish rule, which attempt had been harshly suppressed,² had doubtless taught them the strength and value of unity. In the organization of the present revolt the chiefs and medicine men of these pueblos, among whom El Saca of Taos and Don Luis Tupatú of Picurís³ deserve especial mention, played an important part in the councils of the allies. It was to Taos, moreover, that Popé moved his base of operations, when

1. Vetancur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, p. 101.

2. *Auto* of the Cabildo of Santa Fe, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 73-75 (*infra*, I, p. 181). There is no date given for this revolt.

3. "Declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 21 and 23 (*infra*, II, pp. 234, 236).

driven from his own pueblo by the threats of the secretary of government and war, Francisco Xavier, who desired to punish him for his alleged continued witchcraft.⁴ In an estufa of Taos also were the three infernal spirits who were supposed to be guiding the movements of Popé, and it was from here that the knotted cord, calling the Indians to action on a certain day, was dispatched to the other pueblos of the province.⁵

The Spanish settlers in the vicinity of these pueblos were not altogether without warning that the Indians were planning a revolt, but at these places, as at the others where the news leaked out, there was confusion as to the date agreed upon; and whereas the revolt was not expected until the night of the 13th, it actually took place,⁶ as has been seen, on the 10th of August. Early in the morning of that day the Taoans and their allies, the Apaches, fell upon the settlers and missionaries of the valley, numbering seventy or more persons in all,⁷ and, in the general slaughter that followed, only two escaped. These were the sargentos mayores Sebastián de Herrera and Don Fernando de Chávez, who, leaving their wives and children dead in the pueblo, by fighting and defending themselves as best they could, finally made their way through the devastated districts, and, on the seventh day after the general convocation, came in sight of the villa, which was then being besieged by a large force of the allied nations.⁸ Being unable to enter, they continued on their way south, and on the 20th of the month joined García's division of refugees below Isleta.⁹ At Picuris there was the same general slaughter of Spaniards and missionaries, there being no record

4. "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de naçion queres," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 27 (*infra*, II, p. 246).

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 1 (*infra*, I, p. 3); "Dilijencia Y declaracion—," *ibid.*, f. 4 (*infra*, I, pp. 8-9).

7. *Autos tocantes*, ff. 22-23 (*infra*, I, p. 73). The documentary matter found in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 17-29 (*infra*, I, pp. 65-83), consists of miscellaneous papers drawn up by the lieutenant-governor, Alonso García, and his subordinate officers in Río Abajo, following the outbreak of the revolt there. All this matter, aggregating thirteen folios, was incorporated with the *Autos* and other official records of Otermín. None of the García documents, however, have captions or marginal titles; it has, therefore, not been practical to cite them by title, but reference is made to them by their folio numbers.

8. *Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 21-22 (*infra*, I, pp. 71-72).

9. *Ibid.*

in the sources of any that escaped from there, nor, in fact, of the number that were living there at that time. In both Taos and Picurís the churches were either burned or profaned, the fields and houses of the Spaniards plundered, and many other devastations committed by the Indians.¹⁰

Meanwhile the Taos and Picurís Indians, having meted out vengeance on the Spaniards in their midst, and having laid waste their fields and other property, joined the Tewa Indians and moved on to Santa Fe, which was already under siege by the Pecos and Tanos Indians. They reached it just in time to furnish much needed reinforcements for the allies.¹¹

THE REVOLT OF THE TEWA NATION

Location, Population, and Revolutionary Activities of the Tewa Pueblos.—Extending north and northwest from the villa of Santa Fe to the junction of Río Grande and Río Chama, forming a kind of rough oval, though with no well-defined boundaries, was, and still is, the country of the Tewa Indians.¹² In 1680, the population of this nation amounted to about 2,200 people, distributed among six pueblos and two small settlements. Three of the pueblos, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and San Juan, were on the west bank of the Río Grande. Of these the largest was that of San Ildefonso, whose population was about eight hundred souls,¹³ and, strange to say, it is the only pueblo of this nation whose part in the revolt receives no mention in the documentary sources used, except that one of its chiefs, Francisco, is mentioned as having been a colleague of Popé.¹⁴ The other pueblos, Tesuque, Pojoaque (Posoaque), and Nambé (Nanvé)—the population of the latter included that of the small outlying settlements of Jacona and Cuya-

10. "Autto (de Otermín): Salieron el día 22," in *Auttos tocantes*, ff. 7-8 (*infra*, I, p. 17).

11. Auto y diligencia (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, ff. 5-7 (*infra*, I, p. 14).

12. *Teguas* in the contemporary documents of that period, though written *Tewa*, or *Tehuas*, by modern scholars.

13. For the population of all these pueblos, see Vetancur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, pp. 100-101.

14. "Declaracion de Josephe Yndio Ladino—," in *Autos Perteneientes*, f. 24 (*infra*, II, p. 239).

munque¹⁵ (Cuya Mungue)—were all east of the river, and north of the villa of Santa Fe. With respect to its allies—the populous Jemez pueblos to the southwest, Pecos to the southeast, and Taos and Picurís to the north¹⁶—the Tewa nation, therefore, occupied a most strategic position for organizing and directing the revolutionary movements; and to its inhabitants must be given the chief credit not only for the organization of the revolt, but for its having been so successfully carried out, even when the discovery of the plans called for immediate and premature action on their part.

The Outbreak at Tesuque and Cuyamunque.—About two leagues north of the villa of Santa Fe was the small pueblo of Tesuque, containing some two hundred inhabitants. Of all the Tewa pueblos none was more revolutionary than this, whose chiefs had long occupied a place in the council of the allies.¹⁷ It is largely to the credit of this pueblo that plans for an immediate revolt were determined upon when the two messengers, Catua and Omtua, were arrested in Tesuque on August 9. For, believing that the conspiracy was discovered, the Indians of Tesuque notified the other pueblos in the province in time to begin the revolt at practically the same hour as had been the original plan. Moreover, Tesuque itself seems to have been the pueblo to strike the first blow in the revolt, for as early as the evening of Friday, the 9th—doubtless after the arrest of Catua and Omtua—a Spaniard named Cristóbal de Herrera was killed there, though no details are recorded for this incident.¹⁸

15. Vetancur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, p. 100.

16. Vetancur gives the population of the northern pueblos in 1680 as follows: Picurís, 3,000; Taos, 2,000; Jemez nation, 5,000; Tewa nation, 2,200. He does not estimate the population of Pecos, though Hodge (*Handbook of the American Indians*, part 2, p. 325), places it at 2,000 for that year. The total of all these is over 14,000, and does not necessarily conflict with the estimate made by Otermín and others that the Christian revolters of the entire province numbered 16,000, for it is hardly to be supposed that all the Pueblo Indians were Christianized. With such a force as these northern pueblos alone represented it is not surprising that many of the Indians in the other nations joined in the revolt, who would not otherwise have done so, especially when the invitation from these pueblos was combined with the threat of destruction in case they should refuse.

17. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 1 (*infra*, I, pp. 3-4): "auto y diligencia," *ibid.*, ff. 5-7 (*infra*, I, p. 15).

18. "Declaracion de Po hidalgo... Soldado," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 2 (*infra*, I, p. 7).

The real character of their determination, however, is shown by their attack the next morning on Father Juan Pío and a soldier named Pedro Hidalgo. According to the statement of the latter, before daybreak on the morning of August 10, he started out from Santa Fe to Tesuque, accompanying Father Pío, who was going there to say mass.¹⁹ On reaching that pueblo they found it entirely deserted. But, proceeding, they overtook the inhabitants of Tesuque and probably those of Cuyamunque,²⁰ about a quarter of a league from the former pueblo, where they found many of the Indians painted in war colors, and armed with bows, arrows, lances, and shields. Father Pío, when he had drawn near to them, boldly asked, "What is this, children, are you mad? Do not disturb yourselves; I will help you and will die a thousand deaths for you." And passing quickly on to summon back to the pueblo the main body of the people, who were going toward the mountain, in order that he might say mass for them, he entered a ravine, while Hidalgo was stationed on a knoll to intercept any who might pass that way. While waiting there, Hidalgo saw an Indian named El Obi come out of the ravine with a shield which the priest had carried, and also a little later he saw the interpreter of the pueblo, named Nicolás, painted with clay, and bespattered with blood, come out from the same place. These and others approached him, caught his horse by the bridle reins, and took away his sword and hat. Fearing injury at their hands, he seized his harquebus, put spurs to his horse, and was able to escape to the plain below, even dragging for some distance those who held on to him, while those from above shot many arrows at him, without effect. The priest did not come out, and Hidalgo judged, from what he had seen and experienced, that he must have been killed, and so hastened to the villa, reaching there about seven o'clock in the morning.²¹

19. According to Vetancur, Pío was the resident padre at Tesuque, but owing to the fact that only the day before Otermín had learned of the plot of the Indians, he had probably gone into the villa over night for safety, and was returning the next morning, accompanied by a soldier as a guard.

20. Cuyamunque was a small settlement about a league north of Tesuque, and owing to the small number of its inhabitants they had doubtless joined with those of Tesuque for protection.

21. "Declaracion de Po hidalgo . . . Soldado," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 2 (*infra*, 1, pp. 6-7).

The Outbreak at Nambé and Pojoaque.—Closely associated with the neighboring pueblos, and with their chiefs represented in the councils of the allies, were the two small pueblos of Nambé and Pojoaque. The latter was one of the smallest of the Tewa pueblos, though its population at that time cannot be determined, and it was situated less than a league west of Nambé. The pueblo of Nambé was about three leagues from Tesuque, and, including the nearby settlements of Jacona and Cuyamunque, had a population of six hundred Indians. The Indians of Cuyamunque, as has already been noted, may have joined the Tesuque Indians in the revolt, and, though no mention is made of the fact, it is probable that the small number at the settlement of Jacona joined those of the pueblo of Nambé, doubtless feeling insecure at such a time of unrest.

In both Nambé and Pojoaque (for which the available records are very meager), the revolt began at about the same time as in the other pueblos. When the *maestre de campo*, Francisco Gómez, who was dispatched by Otermín with a squad of soldiers to reconnoiter the Tewa pueblos, returned to the villa on August 12, he reported among the dead, Fray Luis de Morales and Fray Tomás de Torres—The first at San Ildefonso and the second at Nambé—and, also at Nambé, Sebastián de Torres and his wife, and others whose names he did not give. At the same time he found that in the pueblo of Pojoaque the Indians had killed Captain Francisco Ximenes and his family, and also Don Joseph de Goitia; while, among others, Doña Petronilla de Salas and her eight or ten children were missing.²²

The Outbreak at Santa Clara and San Juan.—Situated on the west bank of the Río Grande, only a few leagues apart, were the pueblos of Santa Clara and San Juan, while nearby was the Spanish settlement of La Cañada.²³ These two pueblos contained, in 1680, a population of three hundred Indians each, and both

22. "Auto y declaracion del mro de camPo gomez," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 4 (*infra*, 1, pp. 9-10). See also "List and Memorial" (*infra*, 1, pp. 108-111).

23. The settlement of Spaniards known as La Cañada—see, "Auto de Otermín," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 5 (*infra*, 1, p. 11); *Autos* of García, his *alcaldes* and others, *ibid.*, f. 23 (*infra*, 1, p. 73)—was doubtless near, or identical with, the old Tewa pueblo known as Santa Cruz de La Cañada, which is not mentioned by Vetancur, but which Hodge (*Handbook of American Indians*, part 2, p. 458) says was abandoned by the Indians about 1680.

were religious *visitas* of San Ildefonso, the large pueblo of their nation further south. In the revolt, both Santa Clara and San Juan took a leading part, it being at the latter pueblo that the first plans were formulated by Popé and the other northern chiefs, before Popé was driven from there to Taos by the persecutions of Francisco Xavier. But, notwithstanding the active part played by these pueblos both before the revolt and afterward, the story of the outbreak as it actually occurred in them is very incomplete, and the few facts that are recorded must not be taken as a complete narrative of the events at those places. It is merely the best possible with the sources available.

The only recorded incidents of the uprising in Santa Clara took place about dawn on the morning of Saturday, the 10th of August, when the Indians of that pueblo attacked two soldiers, Marcos Ramos and Felipe López, who were in an escort with six other men led by Captain Francisco de Anaya. The two soldiers in question were slain in the pueblo, while the others, who were guarding a herd of horses on the outside, were able to escape,²⁴ though the wife and children of Anaya were carried off by the Indians, while a youth named Bartolomé Griego was later reported as having been killed.²⁵

Of the outbreak at San Juan no specific details are given, and the only martyr priest mentioned as having met his fate there was Father Juan de Morales;²⁶ yet we may judge that the scene there was of the same character as that at Santa Clara.

Enough has already been said to show that it was the aim of the Indians to destroy all, and at San Juan and the other Tewa pueblos there was practically nothing to obstruct the vengeance of the natives as it ran its full course. In the whole nation more than thirty Spaniards were known to have been killed, while a number of others were carried off and never heard of again;²⁷ and there as elsewhere the churches were profaned, the houses and haciendas robbed, and many other devastations committed.

The Escape of the Spaniards at La Cañada.—Of the number

24. "Dilijencia Y declaracion," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 4 (*infra*, I, pp. 8-9).

25. "Auto y declaracion del mro de camPo Franco gomez" . . . , in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 4 (*infra*, I, p. 10).

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

of Spaniards living among the Tewa Indians in 1680 no record is given, nor is there any record of any having escaped except those who were able to assemble at La Cañada. Following the outbreak of the revolt, the alcalde mayor of that jurisdiction, Luis de Quintana, gathered as many of the settlers as possible at his house, where they prepared to defend themselves. From there, on August 10, they sent news of the revolt of the Tewa Indians to Otermín by two messengers from Taos, who halted at La Cañada for a short while on their way to the villa, having been dispatched thither by the alcalde mayor of that pueblo with further news of the revolt and conspiracy of the Indians.²⁸ Davis²⁹ says that between the 10th and 13th of August the Indians attacked La Cañada, massacred the inhabitants, and drove off the stock, while Bancroft³⁰ says that such was probably the case. Otermín, however, settles this question by stating that all these people were able to reach the villa on August 13th.³¹ A few days after this, the two survivors of Taos, Sebastián de Herrera and Don Fernando de Chávez, passed La Cañada on their flight to the south, but they found the whole district entirely depopulated and in ruins.³²

Defensive and Offensive Measures of the Tewa Indians.—Meanwhile all the inhabitants of the Tewa pueblos from Tesuque to San Juan, having struck the decisive blow for their freedom in their respective pueblos, now united in two divisions, one in the pueblo of Santa Clara, and the other in the Sierra del Arroyo de Tesuque, where they fortified themselves.³³ With those at Santa Clara were gathered many of the rebels of the Jemez nation. In the squares of the pueblo they collected the property of the dead Spaniards, including a great many cattle, executing, as was said by the erstwhile rulers, all such atrocities with unparalleled shamelessness.³⁴ Moreover, guards

28. "Dilijencia Y declaracion," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 4 (*infra*, I, pp. 8-9).

29. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 291.

30. *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 179.

31. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 5 (*infra*, I, p. 11); *ibid.*, f. 32 (*infra*, I, pp. 114-115).

32. *Auttos tocantes*, f. 23 (*infra*, I, p. 73).

33. "Auto y declaracion del mro camPo Franco gomez" . . . , in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 4 (*infra*, I, p. 10).

34. "Dilijencia y declaracion," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 4 (*infra*, I, p. 9).

were stationed along the roads in order to intercept any attempting to escape, and, in this way, every avenue leading to the villa was blocked.³⁵ Having thus completely rid themselves of the Spaniards living in their midst, and having robbed their fields and homes, all the Tewa warriors united with those of Taos and Picurís and joined in the siege of Santa Fe.³⁶

REVOLT OF THE TANOS PUEBLOS, AND OF SAN MARCOS,
LA CIÉNEGA, AND PECOS

Location, Population, and Racial Affiliations of these Pueblos.—Directly south of the villa of Santa Fe was the country of the Tanos nation, containing the three pueblos of Galisteo, San Cristóbal, and San Lázaro. Southwest of the villa, and bordering on the district of the Queres pueblos, were the two pueblos of San Marcos and La Ciénega, containing a mixed population of Tanos and Queres Indians,³⁷ while seven leagues

35. "Auto y declaracion del mro camPo Franco gomez" . . . , in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 4 (*infra*, I, p. 10).

36. "Auto y diligencia," in *Auttos tocantes*, ff. 5-7 (*infra*, I, p. 13).

37. In regard to the tribal affiliations of these two pueblos there are some grounds for dispute. According to Vetancur (*Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, pp. 102-103), who was contemporary with the revolt, the pueblo of San Marcos contained, in 1680, a population of six hundred Queres Indians. Bandelier (quoted by Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, part 2, p. 448), one of the best-informed scholars on the ethnology of the New Mexican Indians, on the other hand states that the original inhabitants were Tanos, though there may have been some Queres among them. From the contemporary documents bearing on the revolt which were used in the preparation of his paper, I conclude that the natives of San Marcos were not considered by the Tanos Indian themselves as members of their tribe. For instance, in the "declaracion de Po garçia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Auttos tocantes*, ff. 10-11 (*infra*, I, p. 25), is found the following phrase: "*dhos Yndios de todos los pueblos de los tagnos pecos y Sn marcos.*" This would clearly imply that San Marcos was not included among "*todos los pueblos de los tagnos*," even if Pecos, which we know was a Jemez pueblo, was not mentioned.

The same confusion is true also of La Ciénega. Modern scholars, as Hodge and Bandelier (see Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, part 1, pp. 299-300), differ somewhat in regard to the identity of its inhabitants, Hodge holding that while formerly occupied by Tanos Indians La Ciénega apparently contained some Queres Indians, while Bandelier concludes that the pueblo was a Tanos village. The documentary evidence, however, also implies that La Ciénega was not a Tanos village, and at the same time supports the above conclusion in regard to San Marcos, as the following phrases from the *Auto* of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 1 (*infra*, I, p. 3), will show: "*los Yndios goures. y Capitanes de los pueblos de los tagnos San Marcos y la cienega,*" and "*por los gobernadores y capitanes de tagnos Sn. marcos y la cienega.*" On the same grounds as above in regard to Pecos and San Marcos, it seems reasonable that if either San Marcos or La Ciénega had

southeast of the villa was the large and influential pueblo of Pecos. It is interesting to note that while Pecos took a very active part with the Tewa and other northern pueblos in the organization of the revolt, nevertheless, after the outbreak, the Pecos warriors coöperated with those of Tanos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega, all of which were closely connected from a geographic and political standpoint, though racially, as has just been shown, there was no close connection. Of the Tanos pueblos Galisteo was the largest,³⁸ containing a population of eight hundred Indians, though Hodge³⁹ thinks this number included the inhabitants of San Cristóbal, which was a *visita* of Galisteo. Of the other pueblos in this group, with the exception of Pecos, San Marcos was the most important, having a native population of six hundred. La Ciénega and San Lázaro were its *visitas*. Concerning Pecos in 1680 little can be learned, though, according to Hodge,⁴⁰ its population at that time was approximately two thousand.⁴¹ Being near the Tanos pueblos, Pecos doubtless exerted a strong influence over them, for in Coronado's time it was the boast of this pueblo that it had never been conquered, and yet could conquer any of its neighbors.⁴²

Hostility of the Tanos Chiefs, and the Friendly Attitude of the Natives toward the Revolt.—Perhaps the most noteworthy point in connection with the revolt of these Indians is that, although the people as a whole seem to have been in a very revolutionary attitude, their chiefs were hostile to, and refused coöperation in, the execution of the plans of the allies. Notwithstanding that the captains of the Tanos had treated of rebellion for more than twelve years,⁴³ yet when Catua and

38. For the population of all these pueblos in 1680, see Vetancur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, pp. 102-103.

39. *Handbook of American Indians*, part 2, p. 325.

40. *Ibid.*

41. According to Benavides, "Memorial," translated in *Land of Sunshine*, xiii, p. 286, its population in 1630 was 2,000 also.

42. "Translation of the Narrative of Cantañeda" by Winship, in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, part 2, p. 523; or G. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*, p. 257.

43. Auto of Otermin, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 13 (*infra*, I, p. 62).

been Tanos pueblos they would not have received special comment apart from "*todos los pueblos de los tagnos*."

Omtua, the Indian ambassadors from Tesuque, came to announce the plans that had been agreed upon, they found the chiefs of the Tanos, to all of whom they spoke,⁴⁴ none too enthusiastic about the revolt, while the Indians of San Cristóbal were unwilling to give assent to the message which they brought, calling as it did for a general revolt.⁴⁵ As has been stated, the real date of the planned revolt was doubtless withheld by Catua and Omtua when they realized the opposition among the leading men. The chiefs at San Cristóbal at once advised those of the other pueblos of their unwillingness to join in the rebellion,⁴⁶ and on the 9th of August the governors and captains of the Tanos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega Indians appeared in the villa to give an account of the treason, saying that it was to be put into execution on the night of the 13th.⁴⁷ The same opposition must have been met among the chiefs of Pecos at about the same time, for on the very day that news came to Otermín from Fray Juan Bernal at Galisteo of the plans as told by the Tanos chiefs, he also received a similar report from Fray Fernando de Velasco, the minister guardian at Pecos.⁴⁸

The questions now arise, why did the chiefs of the Tanos and neighboring pueblos announce to Otermín that the day set for the revolt was the 13th, when as a matter of fact it was executed on the morning of the 10th, and why did the inhabitants of these pueblos take part in the revolt in spite of the unwillingness of their chiefs to do so? The explanation of the first of these points has already been attempted (see p. xxv, note 10) in another connection, and the following explanation of the second, while largely inferential, seems reasonable. Since the Tanos pueblos and their neighbors did take an active part in the revolt, it is probable that the main body of the people were desirous of joining the allies from the very first, though their chiefs were not, and, accordingly, when they departed for Santa Fe to divulge the

44. "Declaracion de Po garçia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 11 (*infra*, I, p. 24).

45. Auto of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 1 (*infra*, I, p. 5).

46. "Declaracion de Po garçia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 11 (*infra*, I, p. 24).

47. Auto of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 1 (*infra*, I, p. 3).

48. *Ibid.*

plans to Otermín, the main body of the people, either because they were really desirous of revolting, or through fear of the threat which Catua and Omtua brought them from the allies to the effect that the Indian or pueblo which did not join in the revolt would be destroyed,⁴⁹ or for some other reason, took matters into their own hands, fell into line with the other revolters throughout the whole province, and, as will be seen, carried out their part of the plans in no half-hearted way.

The Outbreak at Galisteo.—Following the news that the Indians of the province were planning a general convocation, a number of Spaniards living among the Tanos Indians assembled at the pueblo of Galisteo on August 9 in anticipation of any possible danger. But their number and strength were insignificant compared with that of the rebel natives, and, as a result, not one escaped.⁵⁰ The missionaries are the first mentioned among those slain,⁵¹ Father Antonio and Fray Domingo de Bera being killed in the pueblo, while in a field in sight of it a similar fate befell Fray Fernando de Velasco and Fray Manuel Tinoco, minister guardians of Pecos and San Marcos, who were doubtless going to Galisteo to determine upon some action for the expected revolt of August 13. Next the Indians took possession of the cattle and property of the convent, and then, falling upon the Spaniards, killed Captain Joseph Nieto, Juan de Leiva, Nicolás de Leiva, their wives and sons, robbed at the same time their

49. "Declaracion de Po garcia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 11 (*infra*, I, p. 24).

50. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 32-33 (*infra*, I, p. 113).

51. For the events of the revolt at Galisteo we are dependent almost entirely upon the testimony of a Christian Indian, named Pedro García. This Indian, according to his own statement, was working in the garden of his master, Joseph Nieto, in whose house he had been raised, when he was approached, on the day of the revolt, by Bartolomé, an Indian of Galisteo, who called out to him excitedly and asked him what he was doing and if he did not know that the Indians wished to kill the missionaries and Spaniards, and were even planning to do so. Later having learned of the atrocities committed by those of his nation, being a loyal Christian, and fearing to stay among his people, because he had not taken part in the revolt, García decided to try to escape with his wife and an orphan girl to where the Spaniards were. On August 24, as Otermín's division was proceeding along the Río Grande near the northern limits of Río Abajo, García himself, through the aid of the rear guard of the retreating army, joined the Spaniards, though the two women with him were captured by the revolters. See: "Auto de marcha y paraxes," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 10 (*infra*, I, p. 22); "declaracion de Po garcia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *ibid.*, f. 11 (*infra*, I, p. 24).

haciendas, and later carried off three of the women. These three women, whom Pedro García designated as his mistresses⁵² (*amas*), were named Lucía, María, and Juana, and they were held in captivity until after the siege of Santa Fe. In this siege the losses of the Tanos were so heavy in killed and wounded that in revenge the warriors who returned slew these captives, and likewise another girl, named Dorotea, the daughter of the *maestre de campo*, Pedro de Leiva.

The Revolt in the Other Pueblos.—All that can be learned from the documents of the revolt at the other pueblos in this group is that after the uprising was agreed upon it was the aim of the Indians to kill all the Spaniards and missionaries among them, and, to encourage their warriors in this work, they were promised one woman for every Spaniard killed. This does not mean, as might be inferred, that they promised Spanish women for wives. Having made this offer, they ordered the rosaries to be taken off and burned,⁵³ after which the massacres began. At Pecos, where the chiefs had planned for the revolt with the Tewa, Taos, Picuris, and Jemez Indians for a long time,⁵⁴ the only death specifically reported was that of Fray Juan de Pedrosa,⁵⁵ though none are mentioned as having escaped, and the outrages perpetrated there, as at many of the other pueblos, must simply be taken for granted.

Escape of the Spaniards at Los Cerrillos.—The number of Spaniards in the Tanos and neighboring districts in 1680 is not recorded, though if any escaped the revolt of that year they were doubtless among the refugees at Los Cerrillos.⁵⁶ These people,

52. This would imply that they were the daughters of Joseph Leiva, whom García speaks of as his master.

53. "Declaracion de Po garcia Yndio de nacion tagno Natural de las Salinas," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 11 (*infra*, 1, p. 24).

54. "Declaracion de un Yndio Xptiano de los alsados que se cojio en el Camino," in *Auttos tocantes*, ff. 12-13 (*infra*, 1, p. 61).

55. "Auto y diligencia (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, ff. 5-7 (*infra*, 1, p. 12).

56. According to Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 214, a settlement of Los Cerrillos (spelled Los Serrillos in the contemporary documents) is mentioned in the records as early as 1695, though he does not locate it. The present Los Cerrillos is a few miles west of the pueblo of San Marcos, while the *sitio* of the Los Cerrillos grant, the date of which is not given, is only a few miles south of La Ciénega. The documents bearing on the revolt of 1680 do not locate it; in fact, they mention it only twice. I judge that it was somewhere between San

mentioned as being "from the estancias and haciendas of Los Serrillos," and whose numbers are not given, were defending themselves in the house of the sargento mayor, Vernabé Márquez, when on the 12th of August their situation became critical and they sent notice of their condition to the governor, asking that aid be furnished them in order that they might be able to join him in Santa Fe.⁵⁷ Otermín dispatched the necessary aid to them that night, and they and the Spaniards at La Cañada are the only two bodies of refugees that are mentioned by Otermín as being able to join him in the villa after the outbreak of August 10.⁵⁸

REVOLT OF THE QUERES AND JEMEZ INDIANS

Location and Population of their Pueblos.—Occupying a central position in the northern Río Grande valley and extending from the pueblo of Santo Domingo on the east to the Jemez river on the west, and from the junction of that river with the Río Grande in the south to the Tewa nation in the north was the country of the Queres and Jemez Indians, which for administrative purposes the Spaniards organized into one jurisdiction, known as "La Jurisdicción de Yndios Xemes y Queres."⁵⁹ Of the Queres pueblos, Cochití, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe were situated on the Río Grande; Santa Ana and Sia, two other small Queres pueblos, were on the north bank of the lower Río Jemez; while sixty miles west of the Río Grande settlements was another large pueblo of that tribe, called Acoma. Cochití, the most northern of the valley pueblos, was on the west bank of the Río Grande, and contained in 1680 a population of three hundred natives.⁶⁰ Three leagues south, though on the opposite bank of the river, was the pueblo of Santo Domingo, containing a population of one hundred and fifty Indians. Here was located one of the oldest and best convents in the province. Two leagues

57. Auto (de Otermín), in *Autos tocantes*, f. 5 (*infra*, I, p. 11).

58. *Ibid.*, f. 32 (*infra*, I, p. 113).

59. *Autos tocantes*, f. 27 (*infra*, I, p. 80).

60. For the population and other data for these pueblos in 1680, see Vetancur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, pp. 100-102.

Marcos and La Ciénega. It is, therefore, a reasonable assumption that some of the refugees there were inhabitants of the Tanos and neighboring districts.

south of Santo Domingo was the pueblo of San Felipe,⁶¹ the population of which, including that of the small pueblo of Santa Ana, was six hundred. The population of Sia cannot be determined, while Acoma, which contained about fifteen hundred Indians, and which was the largest of all the Keresan pueblos, was too far removed from the sphere of activity of the valley pueblos to exert much, if any, influence upon them. It would thus be safe to say that the total population of the Queres taking an active part in the revolt of 1680 was approximately twelve hundred.

Concerning the Jemez pueblos, mention has already been made of the fact that Pecos was of that nation, and the part which it took in the affairs of 1680 and in the events leading up to them has been noticed. The only other large Jemez pueblo was that of San Diego de Jemez, the population of which, including that of five smaller pueblos, was about five thousand. These Indians, according to Hodge, abandoned their pueblos after the introduction by the Spaniards of improved methods of irrigation, since in that period their chief enemy, the Navajos, were not troublesome, and the pueblos were not needed for defense, while smaller settlements nearer their irrigated fields were more suitable.

The Revolt at Cochiti and San Felipe.—For the events of the revolt in the pueblo of Cochiti practically nothing is known. No mention whatever is made of any Spaniards having visited it after the general outbreak and prior to their departure from the province, nor was there any Indian testimony taken that throws any light on the events attending the revolt there, except the statement of an Indian ambassador at the pueblo of Jemez on August 10 to the effect that all the Spaniards at Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe had been killed.⁶²

61. According to Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 172), San Felipe was apparently on the east bank of the river in 1680. This is also implied in the sources at my disposal, as Otermín makes mention of his division having visited San Felipe on its retreat from Santa Fe, which would have been practically impossible, on account of the high water in the river at that time, and altogether useless, had the pueblo been on the west bank. Hodge and others, however, locate the pueblo on the west bank. (See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, part 2, p. 432.)

62. *Auto of García in Auttos tocantes*, f. 18 (*infra*, I, p. 68).

For the outbreak at San Felipe, the only other contemporary reference is the statement of Otermín that when passed by him on his retreat down the river, that pueblo was found deserted.⁶³ The testimony of two natives of San Felipe who were captured the next year by Otermín, however, is interesting not only in regard to the events as they occurred there, but also for the light that it throws on the whole situation. These two Indians, who were brothers, and whose names were Juan and Francisco Lorenzo, were living at the time of the revolt on a small ranch near the pueblo of San Felipe. According to their testimony, on Saturday, "the glorious day of San Lorenzo," they both went peaceably and as Christians to the pueblo to hear the padre say mass. But they were surprised on reaching San Felipe to be seized and held as prisoners in the plaza, while a number of the natives set out for Santo Domingo to kill, as was told them, the alcalde mayor, the missionaries, and the rest of the people who might be there, as indeed they did. And that same evening, near prayer time, there arrived at the pueblo their elder brother, named Bartolomé Naranjo, whom the Indians approached and asked if he would be on their side in helping to kill all the Spaniards and missionaries, to which their brother replied: "You are crazy in what you do, and I do not wish to join you because it is not right." Thereupon the other Indians seized him and "treacherously" killed him. And these Indians stated further that the cause of the revolt, as they heard it, was that Francisco Xavier, and the sargentos mayores, Luis de Quintana and Diego López, would not let them alone, and burned their estufas, and that the order to revolt came to San Felipe from the pueblos of the Tewa, having been planned, as was generally said, by a native of San Juan named Popé.⁶⁴

The Revolt at Santo Domingo.—For Santo Domingo and the outlying districts the records are fuller, and quite a vivid picture of the revolt as it occurred there can be drawn. In the

63. It is an interesting fact that immediately after the revolt a number of pueblos, as San Felipe, Tesuque, Sandia, and others, were deserted by the natives, who betook themselves through fear to the mountains and mesas, where at a safe distance they made jeer of the Spaniards as they proceeded on their retreat.

64. "Declaracion de Juo lorenzo y franco lorenzo hermas," in *Autos Per-tenecientes*, f. 31 (*infra*, II, p. 251).

pueblo itself the massacre began as elsewhere on August 10.⁶⁵ It cannot be determined who were the first to fall there, though the deaths of the reverend fathers, Juan de Talaban, Antonio de Lorenzana, the minister guardian of the convent, and Joseph Montes de Oca are first mentioned.⁶⁶ These three fathers were in the convent when attacked by the Indians, and from there, where signs of resistance on their part were afterwards found, they were dragged to the nearby church. Here all three were piled in a heap, and their decaying bodies were found two weeks later by the straggling army of refugees on its retreat from Santa Fe. Doubtless by thus piling the dead bodies of the missionaries before the Christian altars, which for eighty years had symbolized the hated domination of an unknown religion, the Indian idea of vengeance found its fullest expression. On the other hand, it is doubtful if there could have been for the padres a sweeter death, a grander sepulcher, or a crown of martyrdom quite so coveted or so glorious as that which they earned for themselves while defending the holy faith in the convent of Santo Domingo on San Lorenzo day.

But the slaughter was not confined to the missionaries alone, and soon a similar fate befell the other Spaniards of the pueblo, the bodies of the men later being thrown behind the church.⁶⁷ Of those who fell there are mentioned the names of the sargento mayor, Andrés de Peralta, chief justice and captain of war of the pueblo, and Alférez Esteban Barcía and Nicolás López, who were commanding the small group of the besieged; and Joseph de Guadarrama and wife. The Indians were led in their attack on these by an interpreter of the pueblo named Alonso Catití,⁶⁸ who came to exercise a great deal of authority and power after the revolt.⁶⁹

In the outlying districts around Santo Domingo the devastations and atrocities committed were typical of those in other parts of the province. Between that pueblo and San Felipe, a

65. *Auto of García*, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 17 (*infra*, I, p. 66).

66. *Ibid.*

67. "Auto de marcha y paraxes," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 10 (*infra*, I, p. 21).

68. *Auto of García*, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 17 (*infra*, I, p. 66).

69. "Declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 23 (*infra*, II, p. 236).

distance of two leagues, the bodies of six dead men were left in the road.⁷⁰ Below San Felipe a little more than two leagues, at the estancia of the sargento mayor, Cristóbal de Anaya, were afterwards found the naked bodies of twelve persons, including Anaya himself, his wife, Doña Leonor de Mendoza, two soldier sons, and three children. A quarter of a league farther on, the house of Pedro de Cuellar was sacked and destroyed; and still a little distance farther, the house of Captain Augustín de Carbajal was robbed. Here Carbajal, his wife, Doña Damiana Domínguez de Mendoza, a daughter, and another woman were killed, and their stripped bodies left in the open house.⁷¹ All these murders were committed on Sunday, the day following the massacre in the pueblo of Santo Domingo,⁷² and the fact that as many as twelve persons had assembled at one house indicates that they had done so in the futile attempt to protect themselves after having learned of the movements and plans of the Indians.

The Revolt at the Jemez Pueblos, and at Sia and Santa Ana.—For the events of the revolt at the Jemez pueblos and at the Queres pueblos of Sia and Santa Ana we have the testimony of Luis de Granillo, alcalde mayor and captain of war of "La Jurisdicción de Yndios Xemes y Queres," who with several other soldiers and one missionary escaped from the pueblo of San Diego de Jemez, being aided in so doing by the lieutenant general of Río Abajo, Alonso García, who also made two *autos* summarizing the events of the revolt in those places. According to the testimony of Granillo, he was advised by an Indian of the pueblo of Jemez, named Lorenzo Musa, that all the natives of the province desired to revolt, and had set the night of August 10 to execute it.⁷³ About midday of the 10th of August an ambassador⁷⁴ of the enemy rode up to the pueblo, singing of victory

70. "Notificación y Prision," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 14-15 (*infra*, I, p. 64).

71. "Auto de marcha y paraxes," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 10 (*infra*, II, pp. 22-23); "notificación y Prision," *ibid.*, ff. 14-15 (*infra*, I, p. 64); Auto of García, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 17-18 (*infra*, I, p. 66).

72. Auto of García, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 17 (*infra*, I, p. 66).

73. Auto of García, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 18 (*infra*, I, p. 68). Musa was evidently confused in his dates, for, as has been seen, the outbreak was planned for August 11.

74. This was, doubtless, the bearer of the news sent out from Tesuque the evening before, following the arrest of Catua and Omtua in that pueblo.

and announcing to the Indians there that already the governor and all the Spaniards, including the missionaries, women, and children, from Taos to Santo Domingo, were dead; that their houses and fields had all been robbed; that only the Río Abajo country was yet to be devastated; and that even that district was at that very moment being sacked by the Indians.⁷⁵ "Since none of the Spaniards will remain alive," he said, "because the number of their enemies, composed of the heathen Apaches, as well as the Christian Indians, is greater, seize, therefore, your arms and kill the Spaniards and friars who are here."⁷⁶ The brief and terse statement of Granillo, "and this in fact the said Jemez Indians did,"⁷⁷ suggests all too plainly with what receptiveness the message was received by these people, who for a number of years had longed and planned to revolt.⁷⁸

In view of the manifest danger in which they were, leaving one of the missionaries dead in the pueblo,⁷⁹ Granillo, in company with the father preacher, Fray Francisco Muñoz, and three⁸⁰ other soldiers attempted to escape. The Indians, however, who had already announced their intention to kill them,⁸¹ on seeing them mount their horses, attacked them and with the whole community of the pueblo followed, fighting them, as they fled across the fields,⁸² for a distance of more than two leagues,⁸³

75. This statement of the messenger in regard to the death of the governor and all the people of the northern districts was, of course, untrue. It is interesting, however, in showing the confidence which the Indians had in the undertaking, for, according to his own statement, this Indian believed that the northern pueblos had by that time already carried out their part of the general plans, and that those in Río Abajo, to whom the message had come later, were also fulfilling their part.

76. *Autos tocantes*, f. 27 (*infra*, I, p. 80).

77. *Ibid.*

78. "Declaracion de un Yndio Xptiano de los alsados que se cojio en el Camino," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 13 (*infra*, I, p. 61).

79. "Notificacion y Prision," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 14 (*infra*, I, p. 64).

80. According to the statement of García—"notificacion y Prision," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 14 (*infra*, I, p. 63)—there was only one soldier, named Joaquín de Bonilla, with Granillo at the time that García met him, though in a subsequent *auto*—*Autos tocantes*, f. 17 (*infra*, I, p. 66)—he says there were three soldiers. This latter statement of García's agrees with Granillo's own account—*ibid.*, f. 27 (*infra*, I, p. 80).

81. "Notificacion y Prision," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 14 (*infra*, I, p. 63).

82. *Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 17 (*infra*, I, p. 66).

83. García says—*Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 17 (*infra*, I, p. 66)—that the Indians of Jemez followed them as far as the pueblo of Sia. Granillo—*Autos*

when, as Granillo stated it, God was pleased that they should meet the lieutenant general, Alonso García, with four soldiers,⁸⁴ to whom a dispatch had previously been sent for aid.⁸⁵ It was past midnight on the night of August 10 when García met Granillo and his party with the religious guardian, Fray Muñoz, fleeing in advance on horseback.⁸⁶ And the Indians, seeing the aid which the alcalde thus received, ceased fighting and following them,⁸⁷ and the party made its way to the pueblo of Sia.

At Sia they found the padre, Nicolás Hurtado, with three Spaniards defending themselves in the strongest part of the convent, with the beasts locked in with them. And "God was pleased" that they should escape with García and Granillo, though when the Indians noticed that they were going out, with great shouts and the ringing of bells "they attempted to execute their treason on the said religious and Spaniards." Thus it was with much danger that the entire party was able to make its way to the pueblo of Santa Ana, which was found deserted by men, though the women there said with much impudence that their husbands had gone to kill the Spaniards. Leaving this place, the refugees proceeded to the pueblo of Sandia in the Río Abajo country.⁸⁸

The Revolt at Acoma.—Acoma played no important part in the events as related in the Spanish documents of 1680, since it was too far away to coöperate successfully with the valley pueblos. Otermín, however, learned from the Indian besiegers of Santa Fe that all the Spaniards there were dead.⁸⁹ Vetancur

84. García, upon receipt of Granillo's call for help on August 10, had started from Río Abajo with eight soldiers—see "notificacion y Prision," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 14 (*infra*, 1, p. 63)—though only four are mentioned as being with him when Granillo was met. See *Auto of García*, *ibid.*, f. 17 (*infra*, 1, p. 66). It is probable that the other four had gone on another rescue expedition in a different direction. See *Autos tocantes*, f. 28 (*infra*, 1, p. 81).

85. *Autos tocantes*, f. 27 (*infra*, 1, p. 80).

86. "Notificacion y Prision," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 14 (*infra*, 1, p. 64).

87. *Autos tocantes*, f. 27 (*infra*, 1, p. 80). This statement does not agree with García's statement that the Jemez Indians followed them to the pueblo of Sia. See *Auto of García*, in *ibid.*, f. 17 (*infra*, 1, p. 66).

88. *Ibid.*

89. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 32-33 (*infra*, 1, p. 113).

tocantes, f. 27 (*infra*, 1, p. 80)—says that they followed them more than two leagues.

says the padre there in 1680 was Father Lucas Maldonado.⁹⁰

The Number of Spaniards Escaping from these Pueblos.—As to the number of Spaniards who escaped from this jurisdiction, it is almost impossible to make an estimate. The only ones mentioned are those who were able to do so through the aid of García and Granillo, who spent the whole night of August 10 after their meeting, and the next day, in assisting refugees to a place of safety, though their activities were confined chiefly to the district of Río Abajo.⁹¹ It is very improbable, therefore, that many of the Spaniards who assembled at Isleta were settlers living outside of the Río Abajo jurisdiction.

REVOLT OF THE TIGUA PUEBLOS OF RÍO ABAJO

Location and Population of these Pueblos.—In 1680, the Tigua Indians were divided into two geographic groups, one occupying, as has already been noted, the pueblos of Taos and Picurís, the most northerly of the New Mexican pueblos, and the other located farther south on the Río Grande, and occupying the pueblos of Puaray, Sandia, Alameda, and Isleta. The largest of these latter pueblos was Sandia, with three thousand inhabitants, while only one league north was the small pueblo of Puaray with two hundred Indians, and about the same distance south was the pueblo of Alameda, with about three hundred inhabitants.⁹² Eight leagues south of Alameda, where a small stream, with the Río Grande, inclosed a fertile tract containing seven Spanish ranchos, was the pueblo and Spanish convent of Isleta, containing a native population of two thousand Indians. It was in this latter pueblo, as we shall see, that the Spanish inhabitants of Río Abajo assembled after the revolt under the lieutenant general, Alonso García, and later went out from that place, marching toward Mexico, thinking all the other Spaniards of the province dead.

The Outbreak at Puaray, Sandia, and Alameda.—In the pueblos of Puaray, Sandia, and Alameda, all of which had been

90. Vetancur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, p. 101.

91. *Autos tocantes*, f. 28 (*infra*, I, pp. 80-81).

92. Vetancur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, p. 99.

planning a revolt for a long time,⁹³ and in the districts surrounding these pueblos, the atrocities and outrages committed were of the same fierce and unrelenting character as elsewhere, though the details for the outbreak in them were unfortunately omitted by García when he made *autos* summarizing the revolt in Río Abajo. In connection with the general facts regarding the revolt of these pueblos, mention has already been made of the small force of refugees from Jemez and Sia having escaped from "La Jurisdicción de Yndios Xemes y Queres," to Sandia, in Río Abajo, being aided in doing so by Alonso García, to whom an appeal for aid had been previously dispatched.⁹⁴ Arriving at that pueblo, García and his small body of refugees found that in his absence the news of the revolt had been published among the Tigua Indians, and that all the inhabitants of Puaray, Alameda, and Sandia were under arms, having already killed many of the inhabitants of the valley, and robbed their estancias of horses, cattle, and other property, all of which they were collecting in the latter pueblo.⁹⁵ These atrocities were begun in the afternoon of August 10, doubtless as soon as news of the premature outbreak was received from Tesuque, and were continued with unabated fury, until late the next day, at which time all the settlers who had not been killed had taken refuge in the pueblo of Isleta farther south.

The Escape of the Spaniards to Isleta, and the numbers killed in Río Abajo.—Immediately upon arriving at Sandia on the night of August 10, and finding that the Indians of Río Abajo were in full revolt as elsewhere, García and his small force, assisted by the two religious in their company, now formed themselves into rescue parties and that night and the following day explored all of the nearby country, as far north as Santo Domingo,⁹⁶ collecting the men, women, and children whom they found alive. Without sparing the time to take any-

93. "Declaracion de un Yndio Xptiano de los alsados que se cojio en el Camino," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 12 (*infra*, I, pp. 60-61).

94. Granillo was informed at Jemez by the Indians that Otermín and all the Spaniards of the province except the inhabitants of Río Abajo were dead, which accounts for his having appealed to García, when otherwise he would naturally have appealed to Otermín at Santa Fe.

95. *Autos tocantes*, f. 28 (*infra*, I, p. 81.)

96. "Notificacion y Prision," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 14 (*infra*, I, p. 64).

thing at all from the houses, by much effort and by literally "dragging themselves and the women and children along" in their haste, the stragglers later in the day reached Isleta,⁹⁷ the large Tigua pueblo which did not take part in the general revolt against the Spaniards.⁹⁸ The number of settlers who were finally able to assemble in Isleta, including seven missionaries,⁹⁹ was approximately fifteen hundred. Of these there were only one hundred and twenty men capable of bearing arms,¹⁰⁰ and these were poorly equipped, the Indians having possessed themselves of more than two hundred firearms and a large quantity of ammunition.¹⁰¹

The total number killed, as reported by García, was one hundred and twenty,¹⁰² or less than one-third of the total number killed throughout the whole province. These must have been for the most part inhabitants of Río Abajo, though some accounted for by him were settlers of Santo Domingo and of other northern jurisdictions. In the vicinity of Sandia, which was the real center of the revolt in Río Abajo, the slaughter must have been terrible, for this was one of the most thickly settled districts in the whole province, mention being made in the documents of seventeen haciendas and estancias on one side of the river alone from Alameda to the estancia of Juan Domínguez, three leagues below that pueblo.¹⁰³ All of these were completely devastated by the Indians, and from many of them none of the settlers escaped.

THE REVOLT AT ZUÑI AND OTHER OUTLYING PUEBLOS

The part played in the revolt by the outlying pueblo of Acoma has already been treated in connection with the up-

97. *Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 17 (*infra*, I, pp. 66-67).

98. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 72 (*infra*, II, p. 330).

99. The following were the missionaries who escaped to Isleta: Fray Nicolás Hurtado, Fray Francisco Muñoz, Fray Tomás de Tobalina, Fray Juan de Zabalita, Fray Diego de Parraga, Fray Antonio de Ciera, and Fray José Bonillo. See *Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 19 (*infra*, I, p. 69).

100. *Autos* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 18 (*infra*, I, p. 68).

101. *Autos* of García, his alcaldes, and others, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 25 (*infra*, I, p. 77).

102. *Autos* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 19 (*infra*, I, p. 69).

103. *Auto* of Juan Huartte, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 18, (*infra*, II, p. 227). *Ibid.*, f. 19 (*infra*, II, p. 228).

rising of the Queres nation. The only mention made in the documentary sources of 1680 concerning the part taken by the distant Zuñi pueblos is the statement of Otermín to the effect that the Indian besiegers of Santa Fe told him that the Spanish inhabitants of Zuñi were all dead.¹⁰⁴

At the Hopi towns, in Arizona, inhabited by a tribe of Indians similar in their habits and customs to the Pueblos of New Mexico, though speaking a Shoshonean dialect, and who had refused on a former occasion to take part in another planned revolt headed by the pueblo of Taos,¹⁰⁵ the revolutionary influence was also felt, and it resulted in the death of the four resident missionaries, and the destruction of the Christian churches.¹⁰⁶

Thus it will be seen how extensive was the revolt started by the northern pueblos of the province of New Mexico, who had not only these tribes as their allies, but also the inhabitants of other districts distant as far as two hundred leagues from the villa.¹⁰⁷

CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE FOLLOWING THE OUTBREAK IN THE PUEBLOS

The condition of the province of New Mexico now begared description. From Taos to Isleta, a distance of over fifty leagues, the whole country, with the exception of Santa Fe, was devastated and depopulated. The estancias and haciendas of the Spanish settlers had been robbed both of household goods and of the horses and cattle in the fields, while many of the houses had been destroyed by fire. The churches, where not burned, had been stripped of their sacred vessels, robbed of their ornaments, and in every way as completely and foully

104. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 32 (*infra*, II, p. 113). Hodge (*Handbook of American Indians*, part 2, p. 1018) mentions one missionary only as being killed there, and Vetancur (*Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, p. 100) says the padre at Aguico, one of the Zuñi pueblos, escaped.

105. "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de naçion queres," in *Autos Perteneçientes*, f. 27 (*infra*, II, p. 239).

106. Fewkes, in *Handbook of American Indians*, part 1, p. 561.

107. Auto of the Cabildo of Santa Fe, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 73 (*infra*, I, p. 180).

desecrated as Indian sacrilege and indecency could suggest,¹⁰⁸ while the sacred vestments had been made use of by the Indians as trophies in the dances and festivities celebrating their success.¹⁰⁹ But sadder and more serious than all this was the number that had been killed. Throughout the entire province it had been the aim of the Indians to exterminate the Spaniards totally, and consequently no mercy had been shown, as the Spaniards never tired of telling, even to the children at the breast, nor to the zealous padres who administered the holy faith. In all there were more than three hundred and eighty Spanish men, women, and children, including servants, who were killed, while this number did not include the eighteen priests, two lay religious, and the prelate of the church of Santa Fe.¹¹⁰ Those who were not killed began to assemble as quickly as possible after the revolt in Isleta and in the villa, and, in this way, the Indians having got possession of more than thirty leagues in the center of the province,¹¹¹ the two divisions of refugees were completely cut off from each other, and each was led by the Indians to believe that the other had been destroyed.¹¹²

Having thus seen how the Indians took measures to rid themselves of the Spaniards all over the province, the motives that prompted them, the execution of their designs in the different pueblos, and the resultant condition of the province, we come now to the measures that were adopted by the refugees in Santa Fe and Isleta for their defense.

108. "...en el Pueblo de sandia, se hallaron Vnos Santos corporales escrementados y dos calises dentro de vna petaca, escondidos entre estiercol, y una echura de un crucifijo quitado a asotes la encarnacion y el Varnis,—escrementado el lugar del acento de la sacra ara del altar maior, y una echura del Senor San Franco quitados los vrassos ajachassos..." See *Auto* of the Cabildo of Santa Fe, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 73 (*infra*, I, pp. 177-178).

109. *Auto* of the Cabildo of Santa Fe, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 73 (*infra*, I, p. 177).

110. *Ibid.*

111. "Autto de Junta de guerra," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 61 (*infra*, I, p. 160).

112. "Auto Para pasar nuestra Resena de armas cavallos y otras cosas," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 45 (*infra*, I, p. 135).

IV. DEFENSIVE EFFORTS OF THE SPANIARDS FOLLOWING THE OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLT

IN THE NORTHERN JURISDICTIONS

Receipt of the News of the Revolt, and Defensive Measures Adopted at Santa Fe.—The first recorded intimation that Governor Otermín had concerning a general revolt of the natives of New Mexico came to him, as previously noted, on the 9th day of August in the form of three notices to that effect, one each being received from Taos, Galisteo, and Pecos. At the same time, the Indian governors and captains of the Tanos and neighboring pueblos appeared in the villa, corroborating the reports, and designating two Indians of Tesuque as the messengers who had delivered the order to them to take part in the revolt, which they stated was to begin on the night of August 13. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, Otermín lost no time in taking the matter in hand, and "with all the promptness which the case demanded" he dispatched the *maestre de campo*, Francisco Gómez Robledo, to Tesuque to arrest Catua and Omtua and bring them to the villa. At the same time "with the least possible delay" he sent notices to the *alcaldes mayores* of all the jurisdictions in the province with instructions for them to notify the settlers in their respective districts of the plans of the Indians,¹ "in order that the churches might not be profaned," and that a force of men might be put under arms upon the shortest possible notice.²

In the meantime the arrest of Catua and Omtua resulted in the premature outbreak of the Indians that night, and accordingly the efforts of Otermín to thwart them in their plans proved of no avail, for in a few hours after the capture of the messengers at Tesuque the whole province, outside of the immediate jurisdiction of Santa Fe, was in arms. As a result, only the settlers

1. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 1 (*infra*, I, p. 4).

2. "*Auto* (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 3 (*infra*, I, p. 7).

nearest the villa received Otermín's orders, and the statement of Davis that "the most vigorous measures were taken to roll back the tide of rebellion," the settlers in the north being "ordered to repair to Santa Fe,"³ is partly fictitious and altogether misleading. In the first place, as we shall see later, Otermín was absolutely unaware of the real seriousness of the revolt until August 12, and consequently no effort was made by him prior to that time "to roll back the tide of rebellion," and practically his only efforts after that were in defense of the villa. In the second place, none of the settlers of the province, outside the jurisdiction of Santa Fe, were ordered to come to the villa until August 13, at which time Otermín decided to call in the settlers from La Cañada, and these, who were then the only inhabitants of the northern jurisdictions alive outside of the villa, together with the inhabitants of Los Cerrillos, who reached Santa Fe the night before, were, according to Otermín's sworn statement, the only inhabitants outside of the environs of the villa who were able to reach there.⁴ Consequently, in those places where the settlers themselves did not learn of the plans of the Indians, they were completely taken off their guard by this sudden and unexpected revolt, with the results as previously stated in the story of the outbreak in the different pueblos.

Early on the morning of the next day (August 10), Otermín became aware of the uprising of the Indians north of Santa Fe, when the soldier named Pedro Hidalgo returned from Tesuque, only two leagues north of the villa, with the news that all the inhabitants of that pueblo and of Cuyamunque were in arms, having already killed Fray Juan Pío as he was attempting to say mass to the Christian apostates, while he himself narrowly escaped. Immediately upon the receipt of this news, Otermín took active measures for safeguarding his own jurisdiction against any possible Indian hostilities. Having already dispatched his orders and advices to the different *alcaldes mayores* of the province, and as the tenor of his *auto*⁵ of that date shows,

3. Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, pp. 290-291.

4. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 32 (*infra*, I, p. 113).

5. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 3 (*infra*, I, p. 7). This *auto* begins as follows: "Luego Yncontinente en dho día mes Y año dhos su ssa el Sr govor y Capn gen dijo que por qo tiene despachadas sus hordenes a los alcaldes

having no apparent anxiety concerning their ability to cope successfully with any possible hostilities in their respective jurisdictions, Otermín now took measures to put the villa in a better state of defense. Accordingly, Francisco Xavier, the secretary of government and war, was instructed to assemble all the people of the jurisdiction of Santa Fe and its environs in the royal houses (*casas reales*) in order that offensive and defensive plans against the enemy might be adopted if the nature of the case should demand it (*si llegare el caso*). At the same time all the royal harquebuses, blunderbusses, swords, daggers, shields, and munitions which were in the armory and storehouse of the villa were taken out in order that the servants who were not so provided might be supplied. And, at the approach of night, sentinels were placed around the villa, while a squad of soldiers was stationed in the church to guard the "holy sacrament and things of divine cult."⁶ All these plans had been determined upon following the arrival of Hidalgo in the villa about seven o'clock in the morning, and in less than four hours Xavier notified the governor that they had all been put into execution as he had ordered.⁷

Having adopted these defensive measures at Santa Fe, and thinking that similar ones were being adopted in the various jurisdictions, as he had ordered, it is clearly evident that Otermín believed all necessary precautions for the safety of the province had been taken. Of the movements of the Indians, and the real seriousness of the situation, however, he was in almost total ignorance, and had he but known that at that very moment the Indians all over the province were slaying the unprotected settlers, devastating their property, and profaning the churches and convents, with the aim of putting an end to the villa last, his surprise would doubtless have been as great as was his anxiety for his own and his people's safety some days later.

It was probably the kindness of fate, therefore, that new

6. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 3 (*infra*, I, p. 8).

7. "Testimo (de Xavier)," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 3 (*infra*, I, p. 8).

mayores pa que den abiso en sus partidos Y se asista a la defensa de los Santos templos por que no sean profanados del henemigo... mdo a el SSo de govon y gua aga rrecojer a estas casas Rs toda la Jente."

reports of the extent and character of the revolt came in gradually, as they did during this and the succeeding days, until the worst was learned and the actual siege of the villa was in progress, conducted by a horde of savage demons, who, having killed as many of the settlers elsewhere as possible, now danced in their glee around the besieged refugees in the government buildings, thinking that they would fall as had the others in the neighboring jurisdictions. The next report that Otermín received, following that brought in by Hidalgo, reached him about five o'clock the same evening, when there arrived at Santa Fe the alférez, Nicolás Lucero, and Antonio Gómez, two soldiers who had been dispatched previous to the revolt by the alcalde mayor at Taos with notices of the conspiracy and rebellion of the Indians there, but who brought other and more serious news than that forwarded from Taos. These soldiers, as before noted, had halted for a short while on their way to the villa at the house of Luis de Quintana in the La Cañada settlement, where he and the people of his jurisdiction were gathered to defend themselves from the Tewa Indians who had gone on the warpath that morning before daybreak. From Quintana, Lucero and Gómez brought to Otermín news of the murders, atrocities, and devastations already committed in those districts. It was with much danger and difficulty that they had finally been able to reach the villa, many arrows and harquebuses having been shot at them by the Indians as they fled through the woods north of Santa Fe.⁸

Otermín now determined to learn the full extent of the revolt, and accordingly he ordered the *maestre de campo*, Francisco Gómez, to take an escort of soldiers and reconnoiter all the pueblos of the Tewa and the jurisdiction of La Cañada in order to ascertain the number of murders committed, the extent of damage done, and what remedial measures might be adopted.⁹ Taking the original *auto* of Otermín as my authority, I find that there is no foundation for the statement of Davis that Otermín instructed Gómez to bring in the refugees assembled at La

8. "Dilijencia Y declaracion," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 3-4 (*infra*, 1, p. 8).

9. *Ibid.*, f. 4 (*infra*, 1, p. 9).

Cañada.¹⁰ Otermín did not instruct these people to join him in the villa until August 13, and then the order was sent to their leader and alcalde mayor, Luis de Quintana, to bring them in, and not to the maestro de campo, Francisco Gómez.¹¹ On the 12th of August, Gómez and his men returned to the villa with the report that more than thirty deaths had been accounted for in the Tewa and La Cañada jurisdictions, and that the Indians, having committed many other atrocities, were fortified in Santa Clara and the Sierra del Arroyo de Tesuque.¹² There is no foundation in the original *declaracion* of Gómez for the statement of Davis that he reported that the inhabitants of La Cañada had all been massacred.¹³ One incident reported by Gómez, while not pertinent, is interesting. He stated that he and his soldiers captured an Indian revolter whom they admonished many times "to surrender himself in peace," to which the apostate replied that he had rather die and go to *Ynfierno* than do such a thing. Accordingly the Spaniards killed him.

On the same day that Gómez returned with the report of the revolt of the Tewa Indians the inhabitants of Los Cerillos, who were defending themselves in the house of the sargento mayor, Vernabe Márquez, near the pueblo of San Marcos,¹⁴ appealed to Otermín for aid, which was granted them that night,¹⁵ thus making it possible for them to join the main body of the people at Santa Fe.¹⁶ About the same time that this appeal came to Otermín, the news of the revolt of the Tanos, Pecos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega Indians was received.¹⁷ This must have come as a severe shock to the Spaniards, for only a few days previous the chiefs of these pueblos had voluntarily come to Santa Fe to make known the plans of the Indians, and they more than any others would naturally have been regarded as friendly

10. Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 291.

11. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 5 (*infra*, 1, p. 11).

12. "Auto y declaracion del mro de camPo Franco gomez," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 4 (*infra*, 1, p. 10).

13. Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 291.

14. "Declaracion de un indio alsado—," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 9 (*infra*, 1, p. 20).

15. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 5 (*infra*, 1, p. 11).

16. *Ibid.*, f. 32 (*infra*, 1, p. 113).

17. *Ibid.*, f. 5 (*infra*, 1, p. 11).

to the Spanish cause. Still later in the same day, as a fitting climax to the news that had already been received, came the first recorded intimation that the Indians of the whole province, having already wreaked their vengeance on the inhabitants in the other jurisdictions, were now making preparations to lay siege to the villa.¹⁸

The situation was now known to be critical in the extreme, and the most energetic measures were deemed necessary in the light of all this new information. Realizing for the first time that the revolt was general; that the Indians had already possessed themselves of the property and munitions of many murdered Spaniards, whose numbers he could not estimate, through not having been able to receive any replies to the dispatches that he had sent to the alcaldes in the neighboring jurisdictions; and conscious that the churches all over the province had been profaned, and that similar outrages were likely to occur in the church and convent at Santa Fe, Otermín issued orders to the reverend padre predicador, Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, "to consume the holy sacrament" and in conjunction with Padre Francisco Farfán to collect the images, sacred vessels, and other things of the church and bring them without delay to the governor's residence (*Palacio*). And in anticipation of the premeditated attack on the villa by the allied force of Indians, orders were issued to Quintana and all the inhabitants of La Cañada who were with him, to come at once to Santa Fe, that, all together, they "might resist the fury of the enemy" until expected aid should be received from García;¹⁹ for it was not known that the inhabitants of Río Abajo under the latter's command at Isleta, thinking all the northern settlers dead, were even then preparing to abandon the province in the hope of saving their own lives.

With the inhabitants of La Cañada, Los Cerrillos, and the environs of the villa all collected at Santa Fe, the whole body of refugees there numbered about one thousand persons,²⁰ of whom less than one hundred were men capable of bearing arms,

18. *Ibid.*

19. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Aultos tocantes*, f. 5 (*infra*, I, pp. 11-12).

20. "Testimonio Avisa pa salir," in *Aultos tocantes*, f. 8 (*infra*, I, p. 19).

the rest being for the most part women and children.²¹ In such a precarious situation, every precaution and every possible means of defense was now adopted. The entire body of the people, with all the horses and cattle and other provisions and necessities for a siege, were collected in the royal houses; intrenchments were thrown up, and fortifications and guards stationed around them; the roofs of the houses were covered with armed soldiers; and in the doors of the houses were placed the two pieces of cannon, mounted on their carriages and pointing to the openings of the street where the enemy were expected to attack.²² In this way did the comparatively small band prepare itself to withstand successfully the attack of the combined forces of all the Indian allies.

Having taken every possible precaution in the villa, and being anxious concerning the settlers, Otermín now made final efforts to learn definitely of their fate, hoping that some of them might yet be alive. Not having heard from the alcalde mayor of Galisteo, to whom he had dispatched an order three days previously by two Indian servants, nor from García in Río Abajo, to whom at the same time he had also dispatched an order by a soldier named Lucas de Ganboa, Otermín determined to make confidants of two Christian Indians, and send them to the jurisdictions of the Tanos and Queres in order that he might learn for a certainty of the true state of affairs there. Trusting these Indians because they left their families in his care in the villa, and having bestowed upon them kindnesses and presents to enlist them in this undertaking, Otermín dispatched them "in the said confidence," on Thursday, August 13, with letters and orders to the alcaldes mayores of the Tanos and Queres jurisdictions, in case they should be found alive.²³ All that day and night the inhabitants of the villa anxiously awaited the return of the messengers and the news that they might bring. Nor did they have long to wait, for on the next morning (August 14) the two Indians came fleeing into the villa with news that con-

21. "Autto (de Otermín): Salieron el día 22," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 8 (*infra*, 1, p. 18).

22. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 6 (*infra*, 1, p. 12).

23. "Auto y diligencia," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 5 (*infra*, 1, p. 12).

firmed the gravest fears of the Spaniards. They reported that more than five hundred Indians from Pecos, San Marcos, La Ciénega, Galisteo, San Cristóbal, and San Lázaro, led by a Tanos Indian named Juan, to whom Otermín had intrusted an order to be carried to the alcalde at Galisteo, were less than a league away, and that they were only waiting for the arrival of the Taos, Picurís, and Tewa Indians to begin the attack on the villa. This they intended to level to the ground, and, after killing the governor and all those with him, they were to return undisturbed to their ancient liberties and the adoration and obedience of the gods of their fathers.²⁴

The Siege of Santa Fe.—Completely cut off from the outside world, with the last hope of reinforcements from the nearby jurisdictions gone and surrounded on all sides by an overwhelming force of hostile Indians, the Spaniards in Santa Fe resigned themselves to the siege. It began on Thursday, August 15.²⁵ Early that morning the enemy was discovered in the plain of Las Milpas de San Miguel, south of Santa Fe, sack-

24. *Ibid.*, ff. 5-6 (*infra*, I, p. 13).

25. The original source for the events of the siege of Santa Fe is an *auto* of Otermín dated August 13 at the beginning and August 20 at the end. From this it would seem that the *auto* was a continuous one, being added to from day to day, though the events mentioned in it as occurring after the 13th seem to have been recorded at one time, and undoubtedly without any effort to fix accurately the dates thereafter mentioned. While Otermín does not say definitely when the siege began, he does say that after nine days, "during which time the siege lasted" —*que duro el sitio*, see: "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 32 (*infra*, I, p. 113) —he ceased fighting with the Indians about the 11th hour of the 20th day of August. See: "Autto (de Otermín): Salieron el día 22," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 7 (*infra*, I, p. 16). This would make the beginning of the siege the 11th day of August, though, as has been seen, it was not until the 14th that the people in Santa Fe actually became aware that a body of Indians were near the villa, and it was not until the 15th that they were seen approaching. It thus appears that Otermín considered the siege as beginning with the first measures that were adopted for the defense of the villa, which were taken on August 11 when Francisco Xavier was ordered to summon all the people of the villa and its jurisdiction to the royal houses where they might be able to defend themselves if the necessity should arise. It has seemed more logical to me, however, to consider the siege as beginning with the actual investment of Santa Fe by the Indians on August 15, and, according to this view, it could only have lasted five days. In regard to this question, Bancroft seems to be unable to determine whether this siege lasted five or seven days, while the statement of Davis ("Papers American Historical Institute," III, p. 173) that the actual siege lasted ten days is without foundation.

ing the houses as they approached the villa.²⁶ Otermín at once sent out a troop of soldiers to reconnoiter the advancing enemy, when Juan, the leader of the Indians, was seen on horseback, armed with an harquebus, sword, dagger, and other Spanish military equipment, and with a sash of red taffeta, which they recognized as belonging to the convent of Galisteo, around his waist. By favoring him, the soldiers finally induced him to enter the plaza of the villa in order to talk to the governor. Here Otermín chided him for having betrayed the confidence which had been imposed in him, to which the Indian replied that it could not now be helped, since already many religious and other Spaniards had been killed, and that the Indians who came with him were fully determined to complete their plans by sacking the villa and killing all the Spaniards who were there, unless they were willing to withdraw from the country. And that they might know the decision of the Spaniards in this regard they had brought with them two crosses, one red and the other white, between which the besieged must choose, the former signifying resistance on their part, and the latter that they would abandon the province. Otermín, however, was unwilling even to consider this alternative, and instead admonished them to cease their hostile actions and return to their homes, promising to pardon them for their treason against the king and for the crimes and sacrileges which they had already committed. But no such promise from the Spaniards, whom they had come to distrust,²⁷ was to be considered, and accordingly Juan returned to his people, who received him back in their midst with great shouts, the ringing of bells, and the burning of the chapel of San Miguel.

The die was now cast and nothing remained but to fight. Thinking it best, therefore, to attack this body of Indians before the main division of the allies came up, Otermín dispatched a troop of soldiers to dislodge them from the plain of San Miguel.

²⁶. For this and all other facts concerning the siege, not otherwise referred to, see "auto y diligencia," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 5-7 (*infra*, I, pp. 12-16). Also, see the very important summary of the rebellion which was written by Otermín approximately one month after it occurred. *Infra*, I, pp. 94-105.

²⁷. "(Declaración) de Diego Lopes," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 53 (*infra*, II, p. 294).

Immediately upon seeing the Spanish soldiers leave the royal houses, the Indians met them on the outskirts of the villa, and so furiously did they fight that, in order to save the day, the governor was obliged to go in person with reinforcements for his men. The Indians fortified themselves behind the houses of the villa, however, where they fought with the arms and munitions of those they had already killed elsewhere, and all day long the battle raged. By evening the Indians were nearly conquered, and having lost many of their warriors, they collected a large number of cattle, set fire to the houses on that side of the villa, and, gathering up their dead, withdrew. Not a single casualty is reported on the side of the Spaniards, though the number of Indians killed was considerable. Davis says that the Spaniards had a few killed in this engagement,²⁸ but I can find no authority for such a statement. The total loss on the side of the Spaniards during the whole siege, as will be seen, was only five.

At just this critical moment, however, the expected aid arrived from the Tewa, Taos, and Picurís Indians, who now threw themselves on the other side of the villa. In this extremity the Spaniards, in order that the northern allies might not take complete possession of the villa, were forced to abandon the pursuit of the Tanos, who then escaped in flight. It was already past sundown when the fresh warriors arrived. These at once began the attack with such "shamelessness and daring" that they were able to gain an eminence behind the royal houses, where they pitched their camp, and from where they discharged many harquebuses at the besieged in the houses. The attempt of the Spaniards to dislodge them from this strategic position served only to increase their fury, and soon afterward they became masters of the cemetery, at the same time sacking and setting fire to the church and many houses of the villa, in which work of destruction they were aided by more and more people who kept assembling all the time.²⁹

The Spaniards during all this time continued to hold their

²⁸ Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 294.

²⁹ The document reads—"juntandose todos los dias mas y mas jente," which indicates that the events recorded extended not only into the next day but probably for several more.

own until the Indians, failing in their attempt to set fire to the doors of the "Hermita de Nuestra Señora," which was situated in one of the towers of the royal palace,³⁰ by a stratagem were able to cut off the water supply, conducted from the river to the royal houses, for a space of two days and one night, during which time the cattle and horses began to die of thirst, not to mention the suffering of the people themselves.

Thinking that this was but the beginning of the end, the joy of the Indians now knew no bounds, for they believed that all must certainly perish the next day. Accordingly, they took their stand around the royal houses, singing the victory song and shouting loudly in their glee that "God, the father of the Spaniards, and Santa María, their mother, were dead," and that their own gods whom they obeyed had never died.³¹

Realizing that no terms could be made with the Indians, who during the siege had resented with redoubled fury every overture of peace that had been made to them, and realizing further the impossibility, in their present precarious condition, of remaining another day shut up in the royal houses, Otermín called a council of war, at which it was decided that it would be better to die fighting than of starvation and hunger. Accordingly, it was decided to offer open battle to the enemy at day-break the next morning (August 20). And at that time the small force of Spaniards, "invoking the name of the Virgin Santa María," rushed from the royal houses upon the surprised Indians, running over them and trampling them under their horses' feet, and dislodging them from the streets and houses in which they were. The Indians were completely discomfited by this sudden and unexpected attack from the Spaniards, and in a few hours (Otermín says he stopped fighting at the 11th hour of the morning), after two small skirmishes,³² more than fifteen hundred of their number were in flight, three hundred were left dead in the villa, and forty-seven others were captured; while eleven firearms, more than eighty head of cattle,

30. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 32 (*infra*, I, p. 113).

31. "Declaracion de Josephe Yndio Ladino," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 24 (*infra*, II, pp. 239-240).

32. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 32 (*infra*, I, pp. 113-114).

and other spoils were regained by the Spaniards and taken back to the royal houses.³³

Thus, after a period of five days, ended the siege of Santa Fe. During this time the Spaniards had been surrounded by a body of Indians nearly twice their total number. In the two pitched battles of this siege, as well as in the various skirmishes and minor engagements, the casualties among the Indians had been heavy, while the Spaniards during the whole time lost only the *maestre de campo*, Andrés Gómez, and four soldiers. A number, however, were wounded, including the governor, who received a painful though not dangerous flesh wound in the breast. The heavy loss of the Indians as compared with that of the Spaniards can be accounted for by the fact that the latter were better trained in the more improved and scientific tactics of war, and consequently fought with more system and organization. The real strength of the Indians, on the other hand, lay not in their organization as a military body, but merely in their superior numbers. Nevertheless, it is not to be wondered at that the Spaniards considered the outcome miraculous, and due to the "most serene Virgin," whose name they had invoked in their skirmishes and attacks upon the Christian apostates.

The Decision to Retreat, and the Abandonment of Santa Fe.—The condition of the Spaniards following the defeat and rout of the Indians was hardly less critical than during the siege. From the forty-seven captured Indians, who, after having testified concerning the revolt, were shot by the Spaniards, Otermín learned that the Christian apostates were allied in their work of destruction with their old enemies, the "infidel Apaches," and that already from Taos to Isleta, a distance of fifty-one leagues, they had devastated the whole country and had killed all the people in the province with the exception of those in the royal houses, and the inhabitants of Río Abajo, who had assembled at Isleta following the general convocation and revolt of the natives.³⁴ Being thus completely cut off from the other

33. *Ibid.*

34. "Autto (de Otermín) : Salieron el día 22," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 7 (*infra*, I, p. 17). This was the first definite information that Otermín had concerning the escape of the Río Abajo people, since the Indians had led him to believe during the siege that those in the villa were the only ones that had escaped in the

survivors of the ruined and pillaged country, and having to depend altogether on the resources of the villa, which Otermín found to be scanty in the extreme, the situation of the Spaniards was a perilous one. The food supply in the villa was almost exhausted by a number of cattle having died during the siege, and those that were yet alive, together with the tired and weakened horses, had to be driven daily to the river for water. This necessitated a guard of soldiers to protect them from the enemy, and this left the garrison practically undefended.³⁵ Moreover, the houses of the villa had all been burned, and men, women, children, and beasts were crowded together in the royal houses as the only place of shelter and of defense against the Indians.

It was evident that it would be useless to attempt to maintain themselves longer in such a condition. Harkening, therefore, to the unanimous plea of alcaldes, captains of war, soldiers, and missionaries, Otermín, looking, as he said, "to the greater service of the two majesties," determined, on the 21st day of August, to abandon the villa and march towards Isleta, in the best military order possible, before the Indians could recover from their losses, ally themselves with the Apaches, and make another attack.³⁶ Accordingly, orders were issued to the secretary of government and war, Francisco Xavier, to collect all the property of the governor's own hacienda and distribute it equally among the people in the royal houses, that they might go out "protected and sustained."³⁷ These provisions, as distributed to the one thousand and more men, women, and children, consisted chiefly of wearing apparel, such as shoes, shirts, uniforms, overcoats, and other supplies, together with all the horses that were left, for the use of the people in leaving the province. The value of all these things which Otermín gave, free of charge, was, according to the estimate of Xavier, 8,000 pesos.³⁸ These supplies

35. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 8 (*infra*, I, p. 17).

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. "Testimonio Avisa pa salir," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 8 (*infra*, I, p. 19).

whole province. See "Auto Para pasar nuestra Resena de armas cavallos y otras cosas," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 45 (*infra*, I, p. 135).

having been distributed it was decided to set out the same day and march one league from the villa.³⁹

Thus, turning their backs on the charred remains of what had once been the houses and the church of the villa of Santa Fe,⁴⁰ this body of refugees, with their faces toward the south, started out through the ruined districts to join their countrymen and fellow sufferers, who, as they thought, were at Isleta, but who, as will be seen, had already left that pueblo in defense of their own lives a week before.

DEFENSIVE EFFORTS IN RIO ABAJO

Efforts of García to Communicate with the Northern Refugees.—On Sunday, August 11, having collected as many of the settlers of his jurisdiction as possible in Isleta, García determined, before turning his back for good on the devastated country that stretched before him to the north, to make a last stand at his house, three and one-half leagues below Sandia,⁴¹ in order to try to learn something definite and reliable of the fate of the governor and the inhabitants of the other jurisdictions. Here for two whole days, "as loyal vassals of his majesty," he and his six sons attempted to fortify themselves, being completely cut off from all outside aid by the besieging Indians who surrounded their house in mounted squads. Nevertheless, three different messages were dispatched to the governor, but none of them came into his hands, because the whole thirty leagues to the villa was completely infested by the enemy.⁴²

At the same time, it will be remembered, Otermín in Santa Fe was trying to get in communication with the Río Abajo people. Such efforts on either side, however, were futile, for, as it is definitely stated, no communication whatever passed

39. "Auto (de Otermín): Salieron el día 22," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 8 (*infra*, 1, p. 18). From the title of this *auto* it appears that they started from the villa on the 22nd, but the *auto* is dated in the text the 21st, and states definitely that it was determined to march a league that same day. (*se determino marchar oy dho día hasta una legua desta va.*)

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 12 (*infra*, 1, p. 27).

42. "Notificasion y Prision," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 14 (*infra*, 1, p. 64).

between the two divisions.⁴³ The statement of Davis, therefore, that Governor Otermín “directed that the Spaniards in the south take refuge in the pueblo of Isleta, under the command of the lieutenant-governor, and there fortify themselves,” which “summons the settlers obeyed with alacrity,”⁴⁴ is purely fictitious. Moreover, with the very first attack of the Indians in Río Abajo came the news that the governor and all the settlers as far south as Santo Domingo were dead, and it would have been folly for the practically defenseless inhabitants of the southern jurisdictions to have attempted to assemble at any other place, since Isleta was the only pueblo north of the Piros nation that remained friendly to the Spaniards. On the night of the second day, therefore, having received no reply from his dispatches, and having learned that the people at Isleta were becoming restless and were beginning to set out for Mexico because of the current report that the governor and the northern refugees were dead,⁴⁵ García collected his horses, abandoned his hacienda, and joined the other citizens of his jurisdiction in Isleta.⁴⁶

The Decision to Abandon Isleta.—Having failed in his desperate attempts to ascertain the fate of the governor and his division, and having every reason to believe the reports that they were all dead, it now behooved García to determine on some plans for the safety of the fifteen hundred Spaniards at Isleta. The condition of these people he found serious in the extreme when he joined them in that pueblo on the night of August 13. Owing to the great haste in which the refugees had assembled there the Sunday previous, only a limited supply of provisions and munitions were taken with them, and these were rapidly

43. “Auto Para pasar nuestra Resena de armas cavallos y otras cosas,” in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 45 (*infra*, I, p. 135); *Auto* of Otermín, in *ibid.*, f. 57 (*infra*, I, p. 154); “Autto de Junta de guerra,” in *ibid.*, f. 68 (*infra*, I, p. 160).

44. Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, pp. 290-291.

45. The Río Abajo people were told by the Indians that they were the only ones in the province that had escaped the general slaughter, just as the same story was told to those at Santa Fe—see “Auto Para pasar nuestra Resena de armas cavallos y otras cosas,” in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 45 (*infra*, I, p. 135)—and it is a peculiar coincidence that each division learned of the preservation of the other on the same day (August 20), after the former had already retreated as far as Socorro—see *Auto* of García, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 21 (*infra*, I, p. 72)—and the latter had successfully withstood the siege of Santa Fe—see *Auto* of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 33 (*infra*, I, p. 113).

46. “Notificacion y Prision,” in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 15 (*infra*, I, p. 64).

diminishing, so that they could at that time count on their supply of ready provisions lasting not longer than eight more days,⁴⁷ while of munitions they possessed only the few rounds which they carried in their pouches.⁴⁸ The Indians, on the other hand, were in possession of large quantities of munitions, and had collected large stores of provisions and other property.⁴⁹ It is thus seen how poorly prepared were the refugees, who included only one hundred and twenty able-bodied men,⁵⁰ for undergoing a siege, not to mention the impossibility of attempting to send a force of men to ascertain the fate of the governor, or for a reconquest of the province.⁵¹ For, as has been pointed out, to have attempted either would only have resulted in the destruction of all, and especially of the women and children who would have been left practically undefended in the pueblo.⁵² Moreover, the fear of an attack from the northern Indians at any time was paramount. Such an attack would doubtless have been made had the siege of Santa Fe not been in progress at that time, while the Indians of Isleta, the natives of which pueblo alone outnumbered the refugees, were becoming restless and warlike, due to the threats that had come to them from the other pueblos and especially those of their own nation for not having taken part in the revolt.⁵³

In this situation, therefore, García on August 14 called a council of all the men-at-arms in his division, together with the seven missionaries, in order that "as vassals of his majesty they might give their opinions, God being their witness, as to what should be done" in this extremity.⁵⁴ And it was the unanimous decision of the maestres de campo, sargentos mayores, captains, missionaries, and soldiers, who expressed their opinions, that,

47. *Auttos tocantes*, f. 24 (*infra*, 1, p. 76).

48. *Auto of García*, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 19 (*infra*, 1, p. 69).

49. *Ibid.*

50. According to the statement of Captain Joseph Telles Xirón, thirty men from Isleta were in the convoy dispatched by the governor to meet the wagons of supplies and provisions which were being sent by the viceroy from Mexico for the aid of the province, while others were reported as being at Zuñi. See *Auttos tocantes*, f. 26 (*infra*, 1, p. 78).

51. *Auttos tocantes*, f. 18 (*infra*, 1, p. 67).

52. *Ibid.*, f. 26 (*infra*, 1, p. 79).

53. *Ibid.*, f. 22 (*infra*, 1, p. 73).

54. *Auto of García*, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 17 (*infra*, 1, p. 67).

considering their weak and impoverished condition, the pueblo should be abandoned and the whole body of the people should retreat toward Mexico, in as good military order as possible, until they should meet the wagons of supplies⁵⁵ and the escort that went with it, which had been started from Mexico the year previous for the aid and support of the religious of the province. This was supposed by that time to be not very far down the river. García having heard the opinions as expressed not only by the soldiers, but by the missionaries as well, and looking, as he said, to the conservation of the lives of all in that pueblo, at once, as lieutenant-governor and captain-general, and with no superior authority above him in the whole province, as he thought, gave the order for the retreat.⁵⁶ The preparations were begun promptly, and on August 14, which was the day before the actual siege of Santa Fe began, this weak and impoverished division started on its march to the south.

55. *Auttos tocantes*, f. 18 (*infra*, I, p. 67) .

56. *Auto of García*, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 19 (*infra*, I, p. 67) .

V. THE RETREAT OF GARCIA'S DIVISION TO FRAY CRISTOBAL

The condition of the once prosperous settlers of Río Abajo who made up Lieutenant General García's division was such that a hasty retreat was impossible. Most of the refugees, including hundreds of women and children, were without horses; many of them were barefooted and half-naked; while all suffered in common from a lack of food.¹ It is not surprising to learn, therefore, that for the first ten days of the retreat an approximate distance of only twenty-five leagues was covered. For the details of this stage of the journey there is no adequate account, the chief source being an *auto* of García dated August 24, at which time the pueblo of Socorro had been reached. In that document García unfortunately made mention of only two important succeeding events, and even neglected to give the date for one of these.

The place first mentioned as having been passed was Sevilleta, one of the pueblos of the Piros Indians. There the natives were found quiet and peaceably disposed toward the Spaniards, as is shown by the fact that they abandoned their pueblo and moved on with the refugees into the interior of the Piros nation.² Sometime between the 14th of August, the day Isleta was abandoned, and the 20th of the same month, García and Father Diego de Mendoza dispatched letters to Leiva and Father Ayeta, informing them of the revolt and of the fate which at that time it was supposed had befallen all the settlers north of Sandía.³ This news was received by Leiva and Ayeta at El Paso on August 25, at eight o'clock in the morning.⁴ The events attending the receipt of it will be discussed later.

1. *Autos tocantes*, f. 28 (*infra*, I, p. 82).

2. *Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 21-22 (*infra*, I, p. 70).

3. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 15 (*infra*, I, p. 85).

4. "Carta del Padre Visitador a el Exmo. Sr Virrey," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, I, p. 565 (*infra*, I, p. 49).

A second and more important event had been the receipt by García of definite news concerning Otermín and the northern refugees at Santa Fe. On August 20, while García and the Río Abajo people were halting in the pueblo of El Alto,⁵ there arrived from the north Sebastián de Herrera and Fernando de Chávez, the two⁶ survivors of the jurisdiction of Taos. These men first gave an account of the revolt at that pueblo. They then told of their flight for safety, and of passing on the seventh day after the outbreak of the revolt in sight of Santa Fe, where they were able to ascertain that a large number of Spaniards were besieged in the government buildings (*casas reales*). While viewing the progress of the siege from a distance, the Indians had been seen to attack the villa and set fire to houses, the church of San Miguel, and the living quarters of the governor, situated in the *casas reales*, leaving intact only two small towers of his dwelling.⁷ On these towers were seen some people, though it could not be determined whether they were Indians or Spaniards. A little later Herrera and Chávez saw the smoke, and heard the dull roar, as they judged, of the Spanish artillery, after which they saw the Indians, "who actually were fighting,"⁸ withdraw to the fields, setting fire to other houses as they proceeded. Herrera and Chávez, however, did not wait to see whether the enemy had withdrawn for good, or returned later to continue the siege.⁹

This news brought by Herrera and Chávez was García's first information that any of the northern settlers had survived the revolt, for, as has been seen, the Indians had led him to believe that all had perished except those who were able to assemble in Isleta. Having reason to believe, therefore, that if seven days after the outbreak the Indians had not conquered the refugees at Santa Fe, they might even then be alive and still defending

5. I can find no other reference to the location of any pueblo by that name. The documents read, "estando yo con todos los Vezos del Río en el puesto del pueblo del alto." I think it possible, however, that García only meant to designate his stopping place as "el puesto del alto" (the place of the height), without any intention of referring to a pueblo by that name.

6. *Auto* of Otermín and Herrera in *Autos tocantes*, f. 70 (*infra*, I, p. 175).

7. *Autos tocantes*, f. 23 (*infra*, I, p. 74).

8. *Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 22 (*infra*, I, p. 74).

9. *Autos tocantes*, f. 23 (*infra*, I, p. 74).

themselves there, García determined, if possible, to learn for a certainty their fate.¹⁰

Such a move at that time, however, was impracticable. First of all, it was necessary to find a place where the women and children might be left with some degree of security,¹¹ for the dreaded Apaches, who were allied with the Christian revolvers, were almost constantly in sight of the refugees.¹² Now that there was hope that some of the besieged in the villa might still be alive, the question of the rescue presented even greater difficulties than when it had come up at Isleta. Some twenty-five more leagues now lay between them and the villa. The supply of provisions, scanty in the extreme when Isleta was abandoned, had perceptibly diminished. There was no place where they might hope to replenish their food supply, or to refill their almost empty ammunition pouches.¹³ Accordingly, the march was resumed from El Alto, and four days later (August 24) the pueblo of Socorro, near the center of the friendly Piros nation, was reached.

Upon the arrival at that place several circumstances combined to influence García to make arrangements at once for returning to the northern jurisdiction. The inhabitants of Socorro, like those of Sevilleta, were found quiet and still friendly toward the Spaniards. When it was learned that the latter were abandoning the province, the natives of Socorro and Sevilleta expressed their determination to go with them, being afraid, since they had not been invited to join the revolt, that the northern tribes would attack and destroy them.¹⁴ Feeling a certain sense of security in Socorro, therefore, García decided to fortify that pueblo as a means of protection to the women and children, and, after attempting to secure men, arms, ammunition, and provisions from the supply train which was supposed by that time to be somewhere near them, to return to Santa Fe.¹⁵

The supply train, as was pointed out in the account of the

10. *Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 22 (*infra*, I, p. 72).

11. *Ibid.*, f. 23 (*infra*, I, p. 72).

12. *Autos tocantes*, ff. 23 and 24 (*infra*, I, p. 74).

13. *Autos tocantes*, f. 23 (*infra*, I, p. 71).

14. *Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 21 (*infra*, I, pp. 70-71).

15. *Ibid.*

revolt, consisted of a number of wagon loads of provisions and munitions which the government had granted for the support and protection of the missions of the province. It had left Mexico the year before in charge of Father Ayeta, the custos and procurator general of New Mexico; and, in order that it might have safe convoy, Otermín had dispatched, some weeks previously, a troop of thirty men under Pedro de Leiva to meet it at El Paso and conduct it up the river.¹⁶ It was García's intention, upon the receipt of these reinforcements from the supply train, to leave a small garrison at Socorro, and then, with all the force that would follow him, to go to ascertain the fate of the governor, "or lose his life in the attempt."¹⁷

An *auto* setting forth the above plans, together with an order for their immediate execution, was made public in Socorro on the day of arrival at that pueblo. At the same time García gave an opportunity for anyone who might not agree to the project to so express himself in writing. While the men in camp were considering the proposals, García, it seems, was making preparations to carry them out. But he soon found himself in a "chaos of confusion," on account of the scarcity of arms, ammunition, and other supplies, either for an offensive or for a defensive campaign. Moreover, signs of hostility on the part of the Socorro Indians had been discovered. He therefore decided to suspend operations, call a junta of all the men of practical military experience, and to decide thereafter what was best.¹⁸

On the same day, accordingly, all the soldiers who were at Socorro met in assembly.¹⁹ The first man to speak was Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza, a person who had

16. *Autos tocantes*, ff. 23, 26 (*infra*, 1, pp. 71, 73).

17. *Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 21-22 (*infra*, 1, p. 71).

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Autos tocantes*, f. 22 (*infra*, 1, p. 72). The original sources for the events here recorded are a series of *autos* signed by García and the different men who expressed their opinions concerning his plans. All these *autos*, with the exception of that of Luis de Granillo, and the last one of García, were written "en el pueblo del socorro en Veinte y quatro días del mes de agosto de mil y seis cientos y ochenta años." The last two in question, however, were written "en este paraje enfrente del pueblo del socorro en veinte y seis días del mes de agosto." It thus appears that García did not record his answer to the opinions expressed by his officers until the second day following the council, at which time the pueblo of Socorro had already been abandoned.

held responsible positions in the province both in peace and war. Mendoza began his remarks by summarizing the events of the revolt. He told how many citizens of the province had been killed, and how the Río Abajo survivors had been able only "by the very skin of their teeth" to assemble in Isleta. He told how, after the Spaniards had collected there, the natives of that pueblo had become warlike, and how the refugees, fearing death, had held a consultation and decided to retreat toward Mexico until they should meet the supply-train. But especially did he dwell upon the present condition of the refugees. Practically defenseless and without munitions, the camp had the dreaded Apaches ever in sight. Some of the Piros Indians, among whom the Spaniards then were, and who had hitherto shown no unfriendly disposition, were becoming hostile. This was shown by the fact that when a messenger from the northern rebels had arrived among them, they had hid him for three days, at the end of which time he was discovered. The small supply of provisions with which they had started out from Isleta was almost exhausted, while a number of refugees, including several of the religious, were ill. For these reasons, and because the actual condition of the governor's division could not be ascertained from the report of Herrera and Chávez, Mendoza was of the opinion that the force ought not to be divided, but that all should go together to meet the supply train and its escort. Having met the train, he thought, a body of men should be sent to ascertain the fate of those in Santa Fe, in order that a true report might be sent to the king. To do otherwise would mean death to both those left behind and those in the villa. Such, he said, was what he conscientiously believed to be "most fitting to the service of God and the king," and in the interest of the safety of the whole body of people.²⁰

Following Mendoza, seventeen other officers spoke. All but one insisted that their force should not be divided by sending a part of them to meet the wagons, as García had ordered, since in their absence the apostates, allied as they were with the Apaches, might attack the camp, the result of which would be fatal to all. The only dissenting opinion came from Captain

²⁰. *Autos locantes*, ff. 22-23 (*infra*, I, pp. 72-74).

Don Fernando Durán y Chávez, who said that, leaving the camp guarded, it would be "fitting to return to the villa of Santa Fe in order to know for a certainty" whether its inhabitants were dead or alive.²¹

Two days later (August 26), in "this place opposite the pueblo of Socorro"—from this it seems that they had already moved out of Socorro—the last man gave his opinion. This was Sargento Mayor Luis Granillo, also referred to as "Alcalde and *capitan á guerra* of the jurisdiction of the Xemes and Queres Indians, procurator general of these provinces, and regidor of the villa of Santa Fe."

The account, given elsewhere, which at that time he made of the revolt at Jemez, Sia, and in Río Abajo, is fuller and even more important than the opinion which he expressed concerning the question at issue. Suffice it to say here, therefore, that having called attention to their lack of supplies and to the fact that the majority of the people at Socorro were "naked, on foot, and barefooted," all of which caused "shudders of horror at the sight thereof," Granillo emphatically declared that the whole body of the people ought to go on together to meet the wagons, before the Indians might advance and destroy them all.²²

At the same time that Granillo gave his opinion, García himself drew up an *auto* summarizing his reasons for continuing the retreat. He stated that in the junta, where all the many difficulties that surrounded them had been fully discussed, he had come to realize that there was nothing else to be done, especially since they had no suitable place in which to resist the enemy in case of an attack. Considering, therefore, his obligation to so many defenseless women and children, he deemed it best to reserve all his efforts until after he had met the wagons containing the royal alms, concerning which he had lately had occasion to be alarmed, because of the report that the Indians down the

21. *Ibid.*, ff. 23-27 (*infra*, I, pp. 75-80). The names of the men above referred to are herewith given. The *maestre de campo*, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza; the *sargentos mayores*, Don Pedro Durán y Chávez, Sebastián de Herrera, Don Fernando de Chávez, Cristóbal Enríquez, Antonio de Salas; and the captains, Felipe Romero, Pedro Márquez, Ignacio Baca, Juan Luis the elder, Joseph Tellez Xirón, Pedro de Sedillo, Juan Luis the younger, Diego Domínguez de Mendoza, Antonio de Alviçu, Pedro Varela Xaramillo, and Don Fernando Durán y Chávez.

22. *Autos tocantes*, ff. 27-28 (*infra*, I, pp. 80-82).

river were allied in the revolt. (It will be remembered that the northern tribes told the Spaniards while the revolt was in progress that all who might escape them would be killed by the Mansos Indians.) Therefore, having recorded all the *autos* of the revolt and of the march, together with all the opinions of the men as expressed at Socorro, that all might stand as evidence of his reason for such action, García ordered that the retreat should be continued at once.²³

On September 4, when next heard of, García and the Río Abajo refugees were at a place called Fray Cristóbal, approximately sixteen leagues south of Socorro, six leagues below the inhabited part of the province, nine leagues below the pueblo of Senecú, and between fifty-seven and sixty leagues from the pass of the Río del Norte.²⁴ On the details of the retreat from Socorro thither no light is thrown, nor is it stated when that place was reached. September 4, at Fray Cristóbal, however, proved an eventful day. At that time, or perhaps earlier, García received a letter written by Father Ayeta at El Paso on August 28. In this letter Ayeta notified the lieutenant general that Leiva would start on August 30 from El Paso with aid for the Río Abajo refugees.²⁵ On the same day Father Francisco Farfán and four soldiers reached Fray Cristóbal from the northern division of refugees with a letter²⁶ and certain instructions from Otermín for García. Otermín states that he sent

23. *Auto* of García, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 29 (*infra*, I, pp. 82-83).

24. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 31 (*infra*, I, p. 112); *Auto* of Otermín, in *ibid.*, f. 12 (*infra*, I, p. 27); "Carta del Padre Fr. Francisco de Ayeta escrita al R. P. Comisario General (Dec. 20, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, I, p. 543 (*infra*, I, pp. 212-217); "Auto y diligencia," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 43 (*infra*, I, p. 129); Vetancur, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, p. 98. Lummis in his translation of Escalante's "Letter" (*Land of Sunshine*, XII, p. 250) calls this place San Cristóbal, and in brackets states that the text has it "fray" Cristóbal. The latter is correct, and Lummis is wrong in judging that the halt was made at San Cristóbal, instead of Fray Cristóbal, for the former was a Tanos pueblo, south of Galisteo, while the latter was only a designated halt of the Río Abajo people in the unsettled part of the province between Socorro and El Paso.

25. "Carta del R. P. Procurador F. Francisco de Ayeta al Exmo. Sr. Virrey (Sept. 11, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, I, p. 526 (*infra*, I, p. 106).

26. I have not had access to this letter but am dependent for the fact that it was written upon "Carta del R. P. Procurador Fr. Francisco de Ayeta al Exmo. Sr. Virrey (Sept. 11, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, I, p. 527 (*infra*, I, p. 107); "Carta del Padre Fr. Antonio de Sierra para el Padre Visitador (Sept. 4, 1680)," in *ibid.*, p. 522 (*infra*, I, p. 59).

orders for the Río Abajo people to return to the pueblo of Senecú,²⁷ nine leagues above Fray Cristóbal, there to await the arrival of the northern division. Father Sierra, writing at Fray Cristóbal on September 4, states that the Río Abajo division was instructed to await Otermín's division in whatever place his message should be received.²⁸ Whatever the order, it is certain that either García did not construe it to mean that he was to return to the pueblo of Senecú, or else ignored it. Shortly after receiving this news, accompanied by six men²⁹ he set out to meet the governor with some horses,³⁰ leaving in command in his place Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza.³¹

In his letter to García, Otermín had instructed the lieutenant general to notify Father Ayeta to send him much-needed aid as soon as possible.³² Accordingly, before setting out to meet the governor, García wrote to Ayeta advising him of the above-mentioned facts. At the same time Father Antonio Sierra wrote to Ayeta giving him more detailed information concerning the ruin which had befallen his religious order. Both letters were dispatched from Fray Cristóbal on September 4 by the same messengers who had brought Ayeta's letter of August 28.³³

From this time until the Río Abajo people were overtaken by Otermín's division on September 13, very little light is thrown upon events at Fray Cristóbal; what is known can best be discussed in subsequent pages.

27. "Mandamto de Prision contra la persona del theniente gel alonso garçia," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 13 (*infra*, 1, p. 62).

28. "Carta del Padre F. Antonio de Sierra para el Padre Visitador (Sept. 4, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, 1, pp. 520-521 (*infra*, 1, pp. 58-60).

29. *N. Mex. Doc.*, 1, p. 521 (*infra*, 1, p. 59).

30. "Notificacion y Prision—," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 14 (*infra*, 1, p. 65). Gregg (*Commerce of the Prairies*, 1, p. 127) and Davis (*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 298) say that García carried provisions and some carts. I can find no evidence of his having carried other than *Vestias*. It must be remembered that at the time García left Fray Cristóbal, Leiva had not reached that place with the aid which he had started out from El Paso with on August 30. García was therefore in no condition to furnish Otermín with supplies.

31. "Carta (de Otermín á Farraga)," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 31 (*infra*, 1, p. 90).

32. "Carta Del teniente Gral Don Alonso García para el Rdo Padre Procurador (Sept. 4, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, 1, p. 519 (*infra*, 1, p. 58).

33. "Carta del R. P. Procurador Fr. Francisco de Ayeta al Exmo. Sr. Virrev (Sept. 11, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, 1, p. 526 (*infra*, 1, p. 106).

VI. ARRIVAL OF FATHER AYETA WITH AID FROM MEXICO

As was pointed out in the story of the revolt, when García and his soldiers evacuated Isleta on August 14, it was with the hope that they would soon meet the wagon train of supplies which Father Ayeta, the custodio and procurador general of New Mexico, was conducting from Mexico for the missionaries of the province.¹ Later, as we have just seen, Socorro was abandoned for the express purpose of meeting these wagons so that the immediate wants of the refugees might be relieved sooner and that an expedition might be better equipped and sent to ascertain the fate of the northern settlers. At that time the train was supposed to be proceeding up the river at no great distance below Socorro, safely escorted by Pedro de Leiva and some soldiers whom Otermín had previously dispatched to meet them. In this, however, the refugees were mistaken, for at that time the train was still at Guadalupe del Paso, over seventy leagues south of Socorro, and it was not until August 25 that Father Ayeta and Leiva at that place received news of the revolt. From that time on the activities of Father Ayeta, who was to become the real savior of the New Mexican refugees, are both interesting and important, for it was he who was to furnish supplies for the actual wants of the people, and who was also to go in person to Mexico city to report on the condition of affairs following the revolt and the things needed for a reconquest of the province.

Before discussing the efforts put forth after August 25 by Father Ayeta and Leiva at El Paso for succoring García's division, which then was supposed to include all the survivors of the revolt, it is necessary at this point to correct some of the misleading statements that have been made concerning the supply train which Ayeta had in his charge at that time. Ban-

1. *Supra*, p. lxx.

croft,² for instance, says in substance that in 1676 the condition in New Mexico was such that a reinforcement of forty or fifty men was needed at once if the province was to be saved; that Father Ayeta, having gone to Mexico for succor, was preparing to start with a wagon train of supplies for the missionaries; that he made an earnest appeal for fifty men and one thousand horses to accompany the train; that the junta approved the measure on September 9th, perhaps of 1677;³ that the viceroy reported to the king his resolution to send aid on January 13, 1678; that the king approved on June 18th; and finally, that, after an unaccountable delay, the train started from the city of Mexico on the 29th or 30th of September, 1679. From these statements it can readily be seen that Bancroft supposed that only one supply train was sent from Mexico city, in charge of Ayeta, for the succor of the northern provinces between 1677 and 1680, when, as a matter of fact, there were two. For a clear understanding of the whole situation a brief summary of the facts is pertinent.

It was the policy at that time for the king to grant, every three years, for the support of the religious order in New Mexico, the sum of 61,440 pesos, paid at his command by the real hacienda of Mexico.⁴ In 1676, Father Ayeta went to Mexico city to collect this triennial gift, which he planned to transport to New Mexico in twenty-five wagons.⁵ But besides this commission, he was intrusted with another. In September of that year Ayeta, with authority from and in behalf of the governor of New Mexico and the cabildo of Santa Fe, presented a formal

2. *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 171.

3. The copy which I have used of the proceedings of the Junta General herein referred to reads, "Mexico nueve de Septiembre de mil seysientos y setenta y seys años"—see "Autos tocantes á socorros del Nuevo Mexico. —," f. 4—while Bancroft's own copy reads, "9 de Setiembre de 1676 años" (see *N. Mex. Doc. MS.*, 1, p. 509).

"Autos tocantes á socorros del Nuevo Mexico; año de 1676," is an expediente of eight folios in the Archivo General de Mexico, Sección de Provincias Internas, tomo 37. (See Bolton, *Guide*, p. 94.) A transcript is in the Bolton Collection. A manuscript copy of the first four folios is in *Documentos para la Historia de Nuevo Mexico*, vol. 1, Bancroft Library. See Preface, *supra*, p. xi.

4. Report of Ayeta to the Junta General, January 9, 1681, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 107 (*infra*, 1, p. 238); Proceedings of the Junta General, January 17, 1681, in *ibid.*, f. 114 (*infra*, 1, p. 248).

5. "Autos tocantes á socorros del Nuevo Mexico—," f. 1.

petition to the viceroy, Don Payo de Rivera, asking for reinforcements in the form of men, arms, horses, and ammunition to enable the province to withstand the continued invasions of the Apaches and their heathen allies.⁶ The number of men asked for was fifty, to be armed and provided with twelve horses each, and whose duty it should be to guard the frontiers. In addition, arms for fifty citizens of the province, one thousand horses in all, and supplies sufficient to conduct the same to New Mexico were asked for, all to be provided at an approximate cost of 14,700 pesos, besides the supplies which were to be carried to the religious.⁷ To support the petition which he presented, Father Ayeta included in it transcripts of the royal cédulas of June 3, 1570, May, 1600, and May 20, 1620, giving the viceroys authority to take such measures as might be deemed necessary for the pacification of the Indians of New Spain. Father Ayeta concluded by urging that the authority thus granted by the royal cédulas cited be applied in the case of New Mexico before it should be too late.⁸

Besides his own petition, Father Ayeta presented also an opinion (*consulta*) from the definitorio of the Franciscan missions of New Mexico, and a report (*informe*) made by the governor of that province.⁹ These reports, after they had been presented to the viceroy, were referred by him to the auditor general de guerra, Don Francisco Fernández Marmolejo. On September 2, Marmolejo, in a report to the viceroy, favored sending the desired aid to New Mexico.¹⁰ The viceroy next sent the petition of Father Ayeta and the accompanying *autos* to the royal fiscal, Don Martín Solís de Miranda. That officer in reviewing the conditions in New Mexico as he found them set forth in the *autos* of the governor and definitorio of the province, pointed out in substance that the invasions of the Apaches and their allies had been so disastrous that five settlements had

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, ff. 1-2.

9. "Autos tocantes á socorros del Nuevo Mexico—," f. 2. I have not had access to the original documents referred to above, but the latter are mentioned and summarized in the *autos* of the viceroy and the other officials contained in "Autos tocantes á socorros del Nuevo Mexico—."

10. "Autos tocantes á socorros del Nuevo Mexico—," f. 2.

been totally destroyed; that churches had been burned, and their furnishings, including an image of Nuestra Señora, carried off by the apostates to be made use of in their dances and sacrileges; that on October 7, 1672, Father Pedro de Ayala, minister of the pueblo of Ajusco, had been killed, and likewise that on January 23, 1675, the same fate had befallen Father Alonso Gil de Avila,¹¹ minister of the pueblo of Senecú; that the natives had lost their respect and reverence for the missionaries; that the defensive force in the frontier settlements amounted to only five soldiers; that Santa Fe itself had only ten such defenders, while many of the citizens of the villa had neither arms nor horses, since they had been carried off by the Indians.¹² Accordingly, it was stated that if the request was not granted the danger was imminent not only that all the settlements of New Mexico, but even those of Nueva Vizcaya, would be destroyed.¹³

For all the above reasons, the fiscal stated in his report to the viceroy on September 5, 1676, that he thought it would be inexcusable not to grant the aid asked for by the governor and the definitorio of New Mexico, pointing out that royal authority was not lacking, as the cédulas cited by Father Ayeta showed. At the same time he recommended that the viceroy refer the

11. Bancroft mentions this occurrence in his *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 171. The copy of the source cited by him reads, "y al Padre Fr. Alonso Gil de Avila Ministro del pueblo del Renecuey el día 23 de Enero del año pasado de 1675." The copy which I have used reads, "y al Padre fray Alonso Gil de Abila ministro del Pueblo de Zenecú en el día Veinte y Tres de henero del año passado de seyssientos y settenta y cinco." On page 182 *op. cit.*, Bancroft cites Arlegui (*Chronica de la Provincia de S. Francisco de Zacatecas*, ed. 1737) for his authority in stating that "a P. Alonzo Gil —, in this revolt (1680) or some other, appeared at the window of the church where the Christians had taken refuge, and was shot while trying to appease the rebels." In this connection Bancroft fails to note that beyond all reasonable doubt the Father Alonso Gil de Avila mentioned in his copy of the source cited is identical with the Father Alonso Gil mentioned by Arlegui in the passage cited. According to that author (*Chronica*, etc., p. 250, ed. 1737), Father Gil and some Spaniards were besieged in the church (at Senecú). The priest, on appearing at the window with a crucifix in his hand in the attempt to pacify the natives, was shot in the breast with an arrow, from the effects of which he died shortly afterward at the foot of the crucifix in the altar. The other Spaniards in the church were soon afterward aided by some soldiers and all escaped.

12. "Autos tocantes á socorros del Nuevo Mexico—," ff. 2-3.

13. *Ibid.*, f. 3.

matter to the Junta General de Hacienda.¹⁴ This was done, and on September 9, 1676,¹⁵ it was resolved by that body that the viceroy should order the officials of the royal treasury to aid "this time only and no more" the province of New Mexico, with the people, arms, horses, and munitions asked for.¹⁶ Accordingly, the treasury officials were instructed to provide all the necessities and intrust them to Father Ayeta, who was to conduct them to New Mexico in the twenty-five wagons in which he was also to carry the supplies for the missionaries.¹⁷

On September 22, 1676, the treasury officials, with the help of Father Ayeta, compiled a detailed estimate of what should be bought, together with an itemized account of the cost. Money was allowed for the following: fifty soldiers to guard the frontiers; eight women to accompany the train to make tortillas and cook for the men; one thousand horses (to be bought in Guadiana, now Durango), twelve being allowed to each frontier guardsman; twelve men to drive the horses; supplies for the caravan sufficient to last six months, the usual time required to make such a journey from Mexico city to Santa Fe; and other miscellaneous provisions. The total cost was 14,700 pesos.¹⁸

The aid thus granted by the Junta General and collected and paid for by the treasury officials, was sent to New Mexico in 1677. Proof of this is shown by the following facts. In a royal cedula¹⁹ of June 18, 1678, the king stated that on January 13 of the same year the viceroy wrote to him giving an account of the appeal for aid which had been received from New Mexico, and informing him that after the matter had been deliberated upon in the Junta General, that body had made provision for the aid in men, arms, horses, and munitions asked for,²⁰ before referring the matter to him, since the total cost of the supplies did not amount to more than 14,700 pesos. The king concluded the cedula by adding that he approved all that

14. *Ibid.*, f. 3.

15. See note 3, page lxxx.

16. "Autos tocantes á socorros del Nuevo Mexico—," ff. 5-8.

17. *Ibid.*, f. 3.

18. "Autos tocantes á socorros del Nuevo Mexico—," ff. 5-8.

19. In *Nuevo Mexico Cédulas* (Bancroft Collection), folios 9-11.

20. "y consultandolo vos con la Junta Gral de la Hazienda dispusisteis el socorro qe. se resolvio de cinqta. hombres," etc. *N. Mex. Céd.*, f. 10.

had been done for the support of New Mexico, and asked that he be kept informed as to the condition of affairs there and the results which might follow the grant of supplies. Again, in a cedula of June 25, 1680, the king mentioned the fact that on June 18, 1678, he approved the aid of people, arms, and horses which the viceroy "sent to the provinces of New Mexico in 1677."²¹ This is conclusive proof that the supply train which left Mexico in 1679 was not identical, as Bancroft supposed,²² with the one which Ayeta asked for in 1676 and received in 1677.

Concerning the supply train that left Mexico in 1679, some facts are known. In the early part of that year Father Ayeta returned to Mexico to receive the triennial gift of 61,440 pesos.²³ Upon being informed by the viceroy that the king had approved, in a cedula of June 18, 1678, the action of the viceroy in sending aid to New Mexico in 1677 without royal permission, Father Ayeta represented to the authorities in Mexico, in a letter directed to them and dated May 28, 1679, the advantages and benefits that had resulted from the aid that had been sent in 1677, and asked, for the greater security of those provinces, that fifty more soldiers, armed and paid as those in Sinaloa, be provided, so that a presidio might be established for a period of ten years.²⁴ The matter was taken under advisement by the fiscal of the audiencia in Mexico city, but that official recommended that the matter of sending further aid to the secular authorities of New Mexico be suspended for the present,²⁵ thereby causing the plan to fall through. On June 19, 1679, the viceroy wrote to the king informing him of the facts stated, and at the same time inclosed affidavits of the correspondence between Ayeta and the Mexican authorities.²⁶ In reply the king issued a

21. *Cédula* of June 25, 1680, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 94 (*infra*, I, p. 235). "—que por zedula de Diez y ocho de Junio de mil seiscientos y setenta y ocho le approve el socorro de gente Armas y cavallos que el año de seiscientos y setenta y siete remitió a las Provas del nuevo Mexico."

22. *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 171.

23. Report of Ayeta to the Junta General, January 9, 1681, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 107 (*infra*, I, p. 238). Proceedings of the Junta General, January 17, 1681, in *ibid.*, f. 114 (*infra*, I, p. 248).

24. *Cédula* of June 25, 1680, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 94 (*infra*, I, p. 235).

25. *Ibid.*

26. The letter of June 19, 1679, from the viceroy to the king, and the letter of May 28, 1679, from Father Ayeta, are translated in Hackett, *Historical Docu-*

cedula of June 25, 1680, in which he stated that, because of the benefits that had resulted from the former aid that had been sent to New Mexico, proof of which was contained in the letter of Father Ayeta of May 28, 1679, and in the above-mentioned affidavits, he ordered the viceroy to apply all the means possible for supplying New Mexico with such aid and defense as might be deemed useful and necessary. He concluded by stating that "you know this [the conversion of the Indians of New Mexico] is my principal care and desire"; and by requesting that he be informed on every occasion offered concerning the state of affairs in that turbulent province. By the time this cedula reached New Spain, however, the ruin which Father Ayeta had asserted to be imminent had already befallen unfortunate New Mexico.

Having failed in his efforts to secure aid for the secular authorities in the province, Ayeta started from Mexico city on Friday, September 29 or Saturday, September 30, 1679,²⁷ with twenty-eight wagon loads of provisions for the missionaries, though at the start two of the wagons broke down.²⁸ According to Ayeta's own statement, besides the alms which he was carrying to the missionaries of New Mexico, he also carried 14,000 pesos' worth of supplies for other northern settlers and missionaries which he had asked for and received. Of this amount 8000 pesos' worth belonged to Captain Joseph de Retes for citizens of his province, while the other 6000 pesos' worth consisted of clothing for the missionaries of the same district.²⁹ It is thus

27. Robles, "Diario de los Años 1665 a 1703," in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st series, volume II, page 290. Rivera, "Diario curioso de Mexico," in *ibid.*, volume VII, p. 14. Rivera adds that with the wagons went some troops. I have already pointed out that the sources which I have used state plainly that the request for troops in 1679 was not granted. Both Robles and Rivera state that the viceroy went to see the start of the wagons from Guadalupe.

28. Robles, "Diario," etc., p. 289. It will be remembered that Ayeta carried twenty-five wagons in 1677.

29. Report of Ayeta to the Junta General, January 9, 1681, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 107 (*infra*, I, pp. 239-240).

ments relating to New Mexico, etc., III, pp. 285, 308-310. Both are mentioned and summarized in the royal *cédula* of June 25, 1680, in *Auttos tocantes*, ff. 94-95 (*infra*, I, pp. 234-236).

seen that there was no "unaccountable delay" in the departure of the 1679 supply train, as Bancroft has stated.³⁰

The progress of the wagons from Mexico had been slow, and although six months was the time usually required for such a trip to Santa Fe, by August 25, 1680, they had not passed beyond the monastery of Guadalupe, near the pass of the Río del Norte.³¹ When the wagons reached that place I do not know, yet it is possible that they had been there for some time. The river was on a rise, due to the melting of the snow on the mountains, which usually begins earlier in the summer, and this may account for the caravan's not having continued farther. With the wagons at this time were the soldiers under the command of Pedro de Leiva, who had been dispatched by Otermín to meet them at El Paso and conduct them up the river. This fact should be noted, for had there been any troops with the wagons that set out from Mexico in September, 1679, as Bancroft supposed, it would have been unnecessary for Otermín to send his own much-needed soldiers to meet and escort them.

It was from these wagons and the escort that was with them that García was expecting to secure aid. On September 4, however, at which time he set out from Fray Cristóbal to meet Otermín, García had not heard anything in reply to the letters which he and Father Diego de Mendoza had sent to Leiva and Father Ayeta previous to August 20, the day that Herrera and Chávez overtook the Río Abajo division with news which seemed to indicate that some of the northern settlers had survived in Santa Fe. These letters of García and Father Mendoza were received by Leiva and Father Ayeta at El Paso on August 25, at eight o'clock in the morning. Immediately Leiva and his men assembled to confer upon the bad news which they contained, while the religious repaired to the monastery of Guadalupe for a season of prayer. It was finally decided to prepare and start aid to García by August 28. Accordingly, the 26th and 27th were spent in unloading the wagons, and in making necessary preparations. On the night of the 27th, as Father Ayeta affirms,

30. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 171.

31. Carta de Ayeta á el Virey, in *N. Mex. Doc.*, I, p. 565 (*infra*, I, p. 51). See also "Another certified copy. *Auto* for holding a *junta de guerra* in *El Paso*," etc., *infra*, I, p. 28.

the full danger surrounding all was realized. The departure of the supplies was delayed, and on August 28, instead of dispatching them as intended,³² Ayeta sent a letter to García by Indian runners, informing him that aid would be started on August 30, and suggesting that in the interim he should halt in some convenient place, attempt to fortify it, and then send messengers to guide the train, which would by that time be on the way. Ayeta requested this because, as he stated, they were all badly confused on account of the meager reports which at that time they had received.³³ At El Paso the 28th and 29th were spent in arming and equipping the servants (*mozos*) whom Leiva's escort of twenty-seven³⁴ men had with them when they came from New Mexico, that they might accompany the aid sent to the refugees farther up the river. It was found that in all there were seventy-eight harquebuses in first-class condition, and with these fifty-one more men were armed.³⁵ Before starting

32. "Carta del Padre Visitador a el Exmo. Sr. Virrey (Aug. 31, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, 1, pp. 569-571 (*infra*, 1, p. 51).

33. I have not had access to the letter of August 28 from Ayeta to García, but the above information is summarized in the "Carta del R. P. Procurador Fr. Francisco de Ayeta al Exmo. Sr. Virrey (September 11, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, 1, p. 526 (*infra*, 1, p. 106).

34. Ayeta speaks as though Leiva had only twenty-seven men under his command at the pass, though Otermín states that he had dispatched Leiva with thirty men to meet the wagons. "Autto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 15 (*infra*, 1, p. 85).

35. "Carta del Padre Visitador a el Exmo. Sr. Virrey (August 31, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, 1, p. 571 (*infra*, 1, p. 51). Don Juan Villagutierre y Sotomayor, who published in 1701 his *Historia de la Conquista y Reducciones de los Itzaes y Lacandones en la America Septentrional*, and who was, therefore, practically speaking, contemporary with the revolt, has a fairly good, though brief account of the Indian uprising in New Mexico in 1680, notwithstanding a number of manifest errors. In book III, chap. XI, p. 206, for instance, he states that Leiva had one hundred men when he started out from the pass, and that he carried an abundance of all that was necessary for the refugees. The letter which I have cited as the source for my statement was written by Father Ayeta the day after Leiva and his party left El Paso. In this letter Ayeta definitely settles the question by stating that seventy-eight soldiers and four religious formed the relief party. Moreover, while Ayeta does not give a detailed inventory of all that these men carried, we know that there was not an abundance of all that was necessary for the refugees, as Villagutierre has stated. This is shown by the fact, as will be pointed out more fully later on, that the day after Leiva met the northern division near Alamillo, Otermín, realizing the impossibility of proceeding to El Paso without additional supplies, dispatched urgent requests to Ayeta for further aid, and, as we shall see, before this reached them they were in the direst necessity. See *Auto* of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 31 (*infra*, 1, p. 122). In this connection it may also be stated that Francisco de Thoma in his *Historia Popular de Nuevo México*

Ayeta insisted upon the selection of Leiva as provisional governor, Ayeta himself conducting the election; for, having reason to believe that Otermín was dead, he objected to their setting out without an authorized leader. Thereby, Ayeta stated, all the inconveniences that might arise, in case of Otermín's death, from the rivalry for leadership, were averted. On the 30th the cavalcade, consisting of seventy-eight soldiers and four missionaries, set out under Leiva's command. Of these, the twenty-seven men who had come from New Mexico, Ayeta remarked, formed the bulwark of strength.³⁶ Among the things mentioned by Ayeta as having been carried by Leiva and his men were eleven complete outfits for horses;³⁷ coats of mail, helmets, etc., which Ayeta had for the protection of the men conducting the wagons; two pounds of powder and a hundred bullets in each pouch; 4000 shot (*balas de refaccion*); and two cases of powder.³⁸ It is thus seen that Leiva was better prepared to furnish means of defense to the refugees than to succor their bodily wants. And, as we shall see, the supplies which he carried proved wholly insufficient for the 2500 persons whom he met later. Ayeta instructed Leiva that as soon as he should meet the refugees, he should send the women and children to El Paso, since Leiva and his men were fully determined to continue as far as Santa Fe for the purpose of aiding the governor if possible, or at least of learning the northern settlers' fate, so that a true and accurate report might be sent to the king.³⁹ It was Father Ayeta's purpose to send back with a second consignment of supplies the men whom Leiva might detail to accompany the women and children to the pass, together with as many other men as he could spare from the train guard, as well as some men who were with a pack train which he had dispatched to Casas Grandes for aid. In order to hasten these arrangements, Ayeta himself remained at

36. "Carta del Padre Visitador a el Exmo. Sr. Virrey (August 31, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.* 1, pp. 572-573 (*infra*, 1, p. 51).

37. *Once ternos de armas enteras de caballos*.

38. "Carta del Padre Visitador a el Exmo. Sr. Virrey (August 31, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, 1, pp. 573-574 (*infra*, 1, p. 52).

39. "Autto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 15 (*infra*, 1, pp. 85-86).

makes the mistake of saying that Leiva set out from the pass with thirty men. *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

El Paso, engaged, as he himself states, in making flour, biscuits, dried beef, and shot.⁴⁰

As we have already seen, the letter which Ayeta sent to García on August 28 had been received by him at Fray Cristóbal by September 4. On the same day he and Father Sierra sent other letters to Father Ayeta briefly informing him of some of the events that had taken place in the northern jurisdictions, of the retreat of the survivors of those jurisdictions, and of Otermín's request that aid be sent him at once. The messengers bearing these letters set out from Fray Cristóbal on the morning of September 4, but through fear of the enemy they soon deviated from the camino real. That evening, toward sundown, while resting on a mountain, they descried Leiva proceeding up the river. The runners, by signals, informed him that the lower camp of refugees was only nine leagues farther on. The messengers then continued their journey, reaching El Paso prior to the 8th of September.⁴¹ The news which they carried was Ayeta's first information that the governor and the northern settlers were not all dead. From the fact that at sundown on September 4 Leiva with his supplies was only nine leagues from Fray Cristóbal, Ayeta judged that he must have reached the Río Abajo people by September 5, and that from there he had proceeded with succor for Otermín.⁴² More will be said on this point in connection with Otermín's retreat, which will now be considered.

40. "Carta del Padre Visitador a el Exmo. Sr. Virrey (August 31, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, I, p. 575 (*infra*, I, p. 52).

41. Letter of Ayeta to Otermín, September 8, 1680, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 41 (*infra*, I, pp. 92-94).

42. "Carta del R. P. Procurador Fr. Francisco de Ayeta al Exmo. Sr. Virrey (September 11, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, I, pp. 526-528 (*infra*, I, p. 106).

VII. RETREAT OF OTERMIN'S DIVISION TO FRAY CRISTOBAL

On August 21, as previously noted, Governor Otermín and the survivors of the siege of Santa Fe decided to evacuate that place. It was their purpose in so doing to unite with the Río Abajo refugees, who, as they thought, were in Isleta, but who, as we have just seen, had already begun to retreat a week previously, and were at that time nearing the pueblo of Socorro, twenty-five leagues farther south. The events of the retreat of Otermín's division are much more fully recorded than are those connected with the retreat of García's division, and from the governor's *autos* we can get a very good account of his movements up to the time when the Río Abajo division was overtaken.

The first halt mentioned after the abandonment of Santa Fe was made near the pueblo of San Marcos on August 23. On that day while the army was resting at an arroyo near that place, the sargento mayor, Bernabé Márquez, and eight other soldiers, brought into camp a captive Tewa Indian named Antonio. Otermín thereupon took the opportunity, as he ever afterward did when a rebel was captured, to examine the prisoner concerning his knowledge of the revolt and his reasons for taking part in it. According to his own testimony, Antonio had been a servant of Márquez, and, as such, had been with him in the *casas reales* during the progress of the siege. However, because he believed that the Spaniards would either be destroyed or else forced to leave the country, and not wishing to go with them in the latter case, he decided to desert his master. The day after making his escape he learned that the Spaniards had abandoned Santa Fe. Thereupon he returned thither, where he found a great many Indians ransacking the *casas reales* and carrying out what property the Spaniards had been unable to take with them. Among those taking part in this pillage, Antonio recognized a large number of Indians from Taos and Picurís, though there

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were also natives from every part of the province. A Tesuque Indian, named Roque, in commenting upon the number of dead Indians to be seen in the houses, streets, and plaza, had told him that the rebels did not regard their loss any greater than that of the Spaniards; and, further, that it did not make any difference if the latter had gone away,¹ since the Indians could live as they wished and where they pleased. Roque also told Antonio that the rebels were talking of uniting in a narrow pass near the house of Cristóbal de Anaya for the purpose of again attacking the Spaniards when they should pass that place.² On the next day Antonio left Santa Fe, where pillage had not yet ended, and went back to the estancia of his former master. There he was found hiding in a field when captured and carried before the governor.³

The next day the army had proceeded about a league from San Marcos when two divisions of Indians were seen on some rocks and mesas, making smoke signals to their allies. There was no offer of battle, however, and soon afterward the army reached Santo Domingo. There were found the dead bodies of the priests and of the other residents of the pueblo. The church, convent, and sacristy had been practically unharmed, and in them were found the images and other furnishings, all of which were collected and turned over to Father Francisco Gómez de la Cadena. Passing Santo Domingo the march was continued until sundown, no more Indians being seen that day.

The next morning a ruse of the enemy came near costing the Spaniards the lives of some of their men. While the army was preparing to break camp, a small number of Indians was noticed on the other side of the river with some horses ranging at large, evidently to induce the Spaniards to attempt to take them. One of the soldiers, Juan Ramos, however, on going down to the river, discovered that a large body of the enemy was in ambush on

1. He evidently meant that it did not matter much that the Spaniards, instead of having been killed, had only been driven out.

2. This is the only evidence that the Indians had any such intentions. It seems strange that such a plan was not carried out, however, for the Spaniards would doubtless have been an easy prey for the Indians had they attacked them in the open.

3. Declaracion de un indio alsado," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 9 (*infra*, I, p. 20).

the other bank. As soon as they became aware that they were detected, and that their intentions were understood, the Indians rose up from their hiding place and fired two shots at him. Many other Indians, on foot and on horseback, now joined those in ambush on the west bank, where they made hostile demonstrations, though they did not attempt to cross the swollen river. Otermín at once gave the order for the army to proceed; after which a number of Indians swam the stream and followed the Spaniards at a safe distance. A little later the Christian Tanos Indian before mentioned, Pedro García, closely pursued by the apostates, was able to join the Spaniards. This Indian, it will be recalled, was at Galisteo when the revolt began there, but not wishing to take part in it had attempted to escape to the Spaniards with his wife and an orphan Indian girl. The two women, however, were captured by the rebels, as García would have been had not a number of Spanish soldiers gone out to meet and rescue him. The Indians made no offensive movements, however, and some time later the pueblo of San Felipe was reached. That pueblo, like the others, was found entirely deserted. No more Indians were seen at all until sundown, when a number were noticed spying on them from the mesas, though they gave no signs of hostility.

The next morning at daybreak still other Indians were seen watching the movements of the Spaniards. Some of these spies, as soon as the refugees broke camp, swam their horses across the river and inspected the abandoned camping place of the retreating army, after which they recrossed the stream. Although some of the Indians came so close as to be clearly seen by the Spaniards, no hostilities were begun by either side.

As the Spaniards now approached the narrow pass near the house of Cristóbal de Anaya, Otermín ordered the utmost care and vigilance to be observed, for it was there, the Indian Antonio had said, that the natives were to make another attack. To guard against this, Otermín ordered that the height be covered with mounted soldiers, and that the people generally prepare themselves to resist the enemy in case the necessity should arise. With these preparations made, the march was continued, unmolested by the Indians, though a large number of them were

seen on the mesas. A quarter of a league farther on the estancia of Pedro de Cuellar was reached, and a little beyond that, those of Cristóbal de Anaya and Agustín de Carbajal. At those places the murders and atrocities elsewhere noted were ascertained. The Spaniards by that time had marched more than ten leagues. Otermín decided to call a halt, therefore, in order that the Indian Pedro García might give an account of the revolt at Galisteo, the story of which has been already related.⁴

Having heard García's account, the order was given to march, and later in the day (August 26) the pueblo of Sandia, two and one-half leagues farther on, was reached. There were seen evidences of many outrages committed both in the church and convent. The doors of the former had been stormed, and the images, pictures, vases and other ornaments had been taken out. All of the altars had been desecrated in the most indecent manner, while on the main altar only a wooden image of St. Francis, with its arms broken and otherwise mutilated, remained. The church, having been filled with straw, was ready to be burned; in fact, it had been set afire in several places, though the fire had apparently gone out without having done much damage. In the convent the *portería* was open, while the doors to the cells had all been torn off, and everything in them had been carried away by the enemy. All the broken images found in the church and convent were put in the custody of Father Gómez de la Cadena, as were some other images and pieces of silver found

4. For the events of the retreat from San Marcos to the house of Cristóbal de Anaya, see "Auto de marcha y paraxes," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 10 (*infra*, I, pp. 21-22). It is apparent from the narrative of the retreat recorded in this *auto* that Otermín heard García's testimony on August 26. Proof of this is as follows: The *auto* begins, "Despues de lo susodho aviendo salido deste Paraje marchando el dia Veinte y quatro," etc. Sixteen lines further along in the copy which I have used occurs the following, "y otro dia la mañana," etc., which would make the date the 25th. Twenty-one lines below this we read, "y otro dia al amanecer," etc., which manifestly indicates the 26th. The *auto* is closed with the order of Otermín for Pedro García to be examined. The next *auto* contains this Indian's testimony, yet it is dated, "En el paxe (*sic*) de junto ala estancia del Sarjento mor. xptoval de anaia en beinte y cinco dias del mes de agosto." Following this document is another *auto* containing the continued narrative of the retreat. It begins, "de este Paraxe salimos marchando el dia Veinte y seis." It is thus seen that there is confusion in regard to the date. Since Otermín does not mention having halted at this time longer than to hear García's story, I believe that the weight of evidence points to the 26th as the day that that Indian's testimony was recorded.

in the houses of the pueblo. The march was now continued for half a league, when a large number of Indians, some of them mounted and others on foot, were seen on the hills, where they had collected a large herd of cattle. From there the enemy with "much shamelessness and daring" began to harass the Spaniards, shouting and making hostile demonstrations, even shooting at them with harquebuses. Otermín at once called a halt and sent a squad of fifty soldiers to dislodge the Indians, who immediately fled to the mountains, driving their cattle before them. Being relieved from immediate danger, and seeing that the Indians had set fire to the church at Sandia, Otermín, in retaliation, ordered the soldiers to return and burn the whole pueblo. This being done, the retreat down the river was continued.

After leaving Sandia, the next halt of which there is any mention was made three leagues below at the estancia of Doña Luisa de Trujillo. No date is given for this stop. At this place, some soldiers, on seeing a large number of cattle grazing on the west bank of the river in the hacienda of the lieutenant-general, Alonso García, asked permission to swim the river and drive them across. But as soon as the Indians, who were ever on the alert, saw this attempt, they came from the mesas on their horses and drove all the cattle away. From this place the army next marched four leagues to the hacienda of Los Gómez "without seeing more of the enemy; and throughout the entire distance thither from Sandia [seven leagues], everything was found deserted and robbed both of cattle and of household goods, many haciendas on either side of the river being sacked and robbed by the enemy." Soon after leaving Los Gómez, an Indian on horseback was captured in the road, and from his testimony Otermín learned that García and all the people who had escaped from Jemez, Sia, and Río Abajo had assembled in Isleta on the day following the revolt, and later had left there in a body.

This was Otermín's first information that the Río Abajo people were not in Isleta. Since learning from the captured Indians at Santa Fe of the assembling of the Río Abajo people at Isleta, and throughout the entire retreat, the hope of uniting the two divisions in Isleta had been paramount in the mind of

the governor. There, and there only, did he look for reinforcements and for the alleviation of the necessities of his foot-sore and half-starved people. Not knowing of the efforts that had been made by García to get in communication with him, nor of the extreme want which had pressed upon the latter's division, it had never occurred to Otermín that they would abandon the province and leave him and his division to their fate.⁵ But the governor did not commit himself on the matter, and at such a time and under such circumstances this was wise. Sorely disappointed at such discouraging news, there was only one thing for him to do, and that was to continue his retreat by forced marches as best he could.

This course was followed, and the day after learning of the abandonment of Isleta by García, that pueblo was reached by the northern refugees. No dates for the halts made on their retreat thither can be determined after August 26, at which time the army, after marching a little more than three leagues that day, was a short distance below Sandia.⁶ Otermín states, however, that he reached Isleta more than twenty days after the Río Abajo people left it,⁷ which, according to his own statement, would make it September 3 or later when he arrived there,⁸ for García left that pueblo on August 14. If this be true, Bancroft is wrong in stating that "Isleta was reached on the 27th; but the refugees under Captain García had left this pueblo thirteen days before and gone south to Fray Cristóbal."⁹

Otermín found Isleta absolutely deserted, both by refugees and native inhabitants. Suffering as he was from scarcity of pro-

5. "Carta (de Otermín á Parraga)," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 31-32 (*infra*, 1, pp. 90-91).

6. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 12 (*infra*, 1, pp. 26-28).

7. *Ibid.* "y aber veinte dias y mas que La jente que seguia al dho theniente del rio avaxo."

8. It should be held in mind that it took from the 21st to the 26th of August for Otermín to march from Santa Fe to the house of Cristóbal de Anaya, a distance, according to the governor's own statement, of "more than ten leagues." See "Auto de marcha y paraxes," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 10 (*infra*, 1, pp. 21-23).

9. *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 181. The error is copied by Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 1, p. 364. The notes given by Twitchell at this point, purporting to come from manuscripts, are obviously taken from Bandelier's *Final Report*, part II, pp. 221 and 233. De Thoma (*Historia Popular de Nuevo Mexico*, p. 93) errs in stating that Leiva had thirty-seven men when he met Otermín.

visions and horses, he decided to continue the retreat until advice could be sent to those farther down the river, with orders to wait for him and in the meanwhile to send him, if possible, some horses and carts to help transport his tired and foot-sore followers. From the hacienda of Francisco de Valencia,¹⁰ according to Otermín's own statement, he sent four soldiers, accompanied by Father Francisco Farfán,¹¹ to overtake the Río Abajo people, which they did at Fray Cristóbal. The letter which these messengers carried from Otermín to García, of which mention has been made in connection with García's movements at Fray Cristóbal, was written from the house or place of Thomé Domínguez,¹² thirty leagues above Fray Cristóbal,¹³ and therefore fourteen leagues above the pueblo of Socorro. The events attending the arrival of the messengers at Fray Cristóbal, with the news which they brought from the northern refugees, have already been noted.¹⁴

On September 6 Otermín's division reached Alamillo, three and one-half leagues above Socorro. The first recorded act of the governor after arrival there was to question more fully Don Pedro Nanboa, the Indian who had been captured in the road farther up the river, in order to find out and record what he knew of the motives that had prompted the Indians to revolt. Parts of this Indian's testimony have been cited as authority for various preceding statements, and need not be repeated here.

On the same day, Lieutenant García, who had been overtaken at Fray Cristóbal by the four soldiers of Otermín's division, arrived in the camp. Otermín at once put García under

10. "Mandamto de Prision contra la persona del theniente gen alonso garçia—," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 13 (*infra*, 1, p. 62).

11. "Carta del Padre Fr. Antonio de Sierra para el Padre Visitador (September 4, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.* 1, p. 522 (*infra*, 1, p. 59).

12. García implies that the letter was written from the house of Thomé Domínguez. See "Carta del teniente Gral Don Alonso Garcia para el Rdo Padre Procurador," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, 1, p. 514 (*infra*, 1, p. 57). Ayeta positively states that the letter was written from the place of Thomé Domínguez. See "Carta del R. P. Procurador Fr. Francisco de Ayeta al Exmo. Sr. Virrey," in *ibid.*, p. 527 (*infra*, 1, p. 106).

13. "Carta del R. P. Procurador Fr. Francisco de Ayeta al Exmo. Sr. Virrey (September 11, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, 1, p. 528 (*infra*, 1, p. 106).

14. For the events of the retreat of Otermín from the estancia of Cristóbal de Anaya, not otherwise referred to, see *Auto* of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 12 (*infra*, 1, pp. 22-23).

arrest for having abandoned his jurisdiction and having retreated with many soldiers from the province, without authority from his superior, who had expected to find him and his division in Isleta. However, that the matter might be fairly adjusted, and that it might be known for what reasons García had gone out, Otermín gave him opportunity to clear himself of the charge, but ordered that, until this was done, he should be imprisoned.¹⁵

García had not come unprepared to defend himself, but had brought with him all the *autos* which he had drawn up since the revolt. Before presenting these he stated briefly that on the day of the revolt the alcalde mayor at Jemez, Luis de Granillo, had appealed to him for help; told of his efforts all that night and next day to aid the survivors of his jurisdiction; how, having seen them safely in Isleta, he and his sons had made futile efforts at their home north of that pueblo to get in communication with the governor; how the reports of the death of the northern inhabitants had caused the people at Isleta to become restless and impatient to leave the country for their own safety; and finally, how the best possible means, as it seemed, had been adopted at Isleta for the safety of those under his command. In support of what he had stated he presented thirteen written folios containing the record of his movements and the opinions of his men given at Isleta and at Socorro. He also stated that upon receipt of the first intelligence that the northern settlers were on their retreat south of Isleta he had gone to meet them with some horses. Lastly, he reminded the governor that he was a man who had served his majesty with one hundred horses, six sons, and all his goods in the most severe conflicts of the province, frequently taking part in campaigns in which he had risked his life and often with very considerable damage. For all these reasons he begged Otermín¹⁶ to release him and absolve him from all blame and punishment. The governor did not at once reply to this defense, desiring first to read the *autos* pre-

15. "Mandamto de Prision contra la persona theniente gen alonso garçia," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 13 (*infra*, I, p. 63).

16. "Notificacion y Prision—," in *Auttos tocantes*, ff. 14-15 (*infra*, I, pp. 63-65).

sented by García. He then ordered them placed with his own, promising the lieutenant-general that justice would be done him.¹⁷

After these proceedings the march was again resumed. Shortly afterward, when only about a league below Alamillo, a cloud of dust was detected in the distance. It was caused, as was soon evident, by a body of horsemen approaching. This cavalcade, on coming up, was found to be a party of more than forty Spanish soldiers and four religious under the command of Pedro de Leiva. Bancroft¹⁸ erroneously states that Leiva had only thirty men when he met Otermín at Alamillo on September 6. The document does state that when the cavalcade was first seen by Otermín's division it was estimated that it contained upwards of thirty men, and that when it came nearer Leiva, "the leader of thirty men whom his lordship had dispatched" to meet the wagons in charge of Ayeta, was recognized.¹⁹ A few lines farther along in the original document, however, it is positively stated that Leiva had with him forty soldiers and four religious when he and Otermín met.²⁰ In justice to Bancroft²¹ it may be stated

17. "Autto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 15 (*infra*, 1, p. 65).

18. *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 181.

19. "Autto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 15 (*infra*, 1, p. 85). "Luego Yncontinente en dho día mes y año dhos yendo marchando su SSa con el ejército al paraje vna legua mas alla del Pueblo del alamillo se descubrio a trecho vna polvadera en la qual se rreconosio Venir Cantidad de hasta treinta Personas de acavallo y reconociendo quienes podian ser se vido que era el mro de campo Po de leiva cavo y caudillo de treinta hombres que su SSa abia despachado a escoltar y convoiar la hacienda de las limosnas," etc.

20. "Y el dho mro de campo Po de leiva aviendose encontrando con el ejército traiendo consigo mas de quarenta soldados y quatro Relijiosos del horden del Señor Sn franco Reconosiendo a su SSa todos hijieron la salva con mucho regosijo," etc.

21. Twitchell (*Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 1, p. 365) has repeated the mistake of Bancroft in saying that Leiva had with him thirty men when he and Otermín met. He states also that "Otermín was also reenforced by a command of thirty men under the Maestro de Campo, Pedro de Leyba, who had come with Lieutenant General García from Fra Cristobal." Leiva, however, did not accompany García from Fray Cristóbal. The latter left there on September 4—"Carta del Padre Fr. Antonio de Sierra para el Padre Visitador," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, 1, p. 521 (*infra*, 1, p. 59); "Carta Del teniente Gral Don Alonso Garcia para el Rdo Padre Procurador," in *ibid.*, p. 518 (*infra*, 1, p. 58)—while the former at sundown on that day was nine leagues below Fray Cristóbal. "Carta del R. P. Procurador Fr. Francisco de Ayeta al Exmo. Sr. Virrey," in *ibid.*, p. 527 (*infra*, 1, p. 106). Moreover, García met Otermín at Alamillo, and Leiva met him a league below that pueblo.

that the *Extractos*, his source for this matter, contain only the first few lines of the document dealing with the meeting of Otermín and Leiva, and consequently fail to record later and much more important statements found in the original. As has been pointed out, on September 4 Leiva was only nine leagues from Fray Cristóbal, with the aid that left El Paso on August 30, and, as Ayeta supposed, he doubtless reached the former place on September 5. Having met the Río Abajo people, and learning that Otermín and his division were near by, Leiva, it seems, leaving some thirty of his men at Fray Cristóbal, decided to continue with the rest in his party until they should meet the governor, as was done the next day. As soon as the troopers recognized Otermín, overjoyed at having met him and his division, they saluted him heartily with a volley.²² For when they left the pass they had thought the governor and all the northern settlers were dead, and, as Father Ayeta in his letter to the viceroy written the day after their departure stated, there were not three of the men whom Leiva had brought with him to the pass who had not lost, as they then supposed, either father, mother, or children, while all had cause for grief in the loss of more distant relatives and friends.²³ It is needless to comment, therefore, upon the joy of these men at actually meeting and finding alive a thousand or more of their countrymen and friends whom they had but lately mourned as dead. Otermín was so moved by the expressions of generosity and loyalty of Leiva and his men, who, as they themselves stated, were determined when they left El Paso to continue until they might know the governor's fate, whatever the cost, that he ordered his acknowledgment and appreciation recorded.²⁴

At this point several errors made by well-known historians should be noted. Davis²⁵ and Prince²⁶ both correctly state that at Alamillo Otermín met Leiva with forty men, yet both err in saying that Alamillo was above Isleta, and that several days after

22. "Autto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 15 (*infra*, I, p. 85).

23. "Carta del Padre Visitador a el Exmo. Sr. Virrey," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, I, p. 573 (*infra*, I, p. 52).

24. "Autto (de Otermín)," no. 2, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 15 (*infra*, I, pp. 85-86).

25. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, pp. 297-298.

26. *Historical Sketches of New Mexico*, p. 195.

meeting Leiva at the former pueblo, Otermín reached Isleta. As a matter of fact, Alamillo, one of the Piros pueblos, was over twenty leagues south of Isleta. Alamillo was not reached until September 6, whereas Otermín had left Isleta several days earlier. Furthermore, Prince states that after meeting Leiva and before Isleta had been reached, Otermín received four wagon loads of corn from "Father Ayeta of El Paso," while García, who had already "marched to El Paso . . . responded . . . with a portion of his own scanty store." In the light of facts already stated it will be seen how incorrect and confused are these statements of Prince.

By this time Otermín had completed his examination of the *autos* presented by García for his defense. He thereupon declared him a free man and absolved him from all blame for having abandoned the province without superior authority. At the same time, he ordered Francisco Xavier, Juan Lucero de Godoy, and Luis de Quintana to state to García that he was prompted to absolve him because the retreat of the Río Abajo division had not been with evil intent, but rather had been begun at the request of all those at Isleta and with the agreement of all that they ought not to delay in setting out for Mexico, for the reasons expressed in their *autos*.²⁷ When notified of the decision of the governor, García expressed his thanks for the justice and kindness shown him.²⁸ With this, the last incident connected with the arrest and trial of García, which, as far as can be judged, was more or less a matter of form, was closed.

The next day (September 7) the northern division reached Socorro. There, notwithstanding the supplies Leiva had brought, Otermín clearly saw the impossibility of continuing to the pass of the Río del Norte without additional supplies, for the route lay through a country inhabited by hostile Indians and so nearly desert that it would be impossible to secure any sustenance whatever in it. Accordingly, as the only thing left for him to do, he ordered a company of men to set out at once for El Paso, where were the wagons of provisions in charge of

27. "Autto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 29 (*infra*, 1, pp. 83-84).

28. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 30 (*infra*, 1, p. 84).

Ayeta, to conduct them up the river with all haste for the aid of his suffering and fatigued people, who had come that far, for the most part, on foot and with a very limited supply of food.²⁹ Davis errs again by stating that at Alamillo "a council of war was called by Otermín, when it was decided to continue the march to Salineta there to await a supply of provisions."³⁰ Taking the above-cited *auto* of Otermín as authority, no council of war was held at either Alamillo or Socorro. On the contrary, Otermín, at the latter pueblo, apparently independent of suggestions from anyone,³¹ decided to send to the pass for aid. Moreover, La Salineta is not mentioned at all in this connection, and the error of Davis' statement that they were to proceed to that place to await provisions is evident when it is understood that La Salineta was only four leagues above El Paso,³² while Socorro was about seventy-five leagues above La Salineta.³³

On the same day that Otermín decided to send this company of soldiers to meet Father Ayeta he received a letter from Father Diego de Parraga, written at Fray Cristóbal, stating that the Río Abajo people were in grave necessity, and asking that they either be supplied with provisions or else allowed to proceed on their journey in the hope of getting aid sooner. Otermín thought it strange that he should receive such a letter from Parraga, since Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza had been left in command of the Río Abajo refugees by García when the latter started north to meet the governor. At the same time his own troubles were sufficient in themselves, for by that time the people in his charge had reached the point where they were living on roasted corn. Worried at receiving such a letter under those circumstances, Otermín wrote a vigorous reply to Parraga the next day.³⁴

29. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 31 (*infra*, I, pp. 88-89).

30. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 297.

31. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 31 (*infra*, I, p. 88).

32. "Auto Y diligencia," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 43 (*infra*, I, p. 129).

33. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 31 (*infra*, I, p. 88).

34. "Carta" in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 31-32 (*infra*, I, pp. 90-91).

VIII. RETREAT OF THE TWO DIVISIONS TO LA SALINETA

Having dispatched the above letter to Parraga with orders for the Río Abajo people to wait for him, no other *autos* were drawn up by Otermín and no further communication passed between the two divisions until the northern refugees joined those at Fray Cristóbal on September 13. With all the survivors of the province united in one body, Otermín determined to call a council of all the officers and men of experience and prestige in his camp, that they might help to decide what ought to be done in the light of present conditions.¹ Accordingly, on the same day this decision of the governor was made public in the camp by voice of the public crier.² After the meeting was assembled, the first to avail themselves of the opportunity which Otermín gave for all to express their opinions were eight of the missionaries. They stated briefly, though characteristically, that as "liege vassals of his majesty, and as his ministers in those parts for the administration of the holy sacrament, and for instructing in the holy faith both Spaniards and natives" they were willing "without any repugnance to follow the person of his excellency and the royal standard in whatever resolution or determination he and the other persons might agree upon."³

Following the religious a joint statement was made and signed by the maestros de campo, Francisco Gómez Robledo, Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, Diego de Trujillo, and the lieutenant-general, Alonso García. After summarizing the events of the retreat, they agreed that because of the miserable condition of all, and especially of so

1. "Auto (de Otermín)," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 32-33 (*infra*, I, pp. 114-115).

2. Auto of Xavier, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 33 (*infra*, I, p. 116).

3. Auto of the Religious at Fray Cristóbal, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 34 (*infra*, I, p. 116). This *auto* was signed by the following: Father Nicolás Hurtado, Father Gómez de la Cadena, Father Antonio de Sierra, Father Thomas de Tobalina, Father Francisco Muñoz, Father Juan de Zaballeta, Father Joseph de Bonillo, Father Andrés Durán.

many women and children, and since there was little prospect of any alleviation of their hunger, or any way to avenge or restrain the taunts of the enemy in that desert place, the retreat should be continued; and that, after the defenseless ones had been established in a place of safety, a reconquest should be attempted, though they feared that this would be difficult, since the enemy was in possession of a great many firearms and other weapons.⁴ This opinion having been read, it was agreed to by sixteen sargentos mayores, captains, and soldiers.⁵ Lastly, in much the same tone, the cabildo of Santa Fe went on record as conforming with the decision expressed by the maestres de campo.⁶ The main reasons stated by this body had all been stressed by others who had preceded them. But the cabildo, in addition, emphasized the fact that for the 2500 persons in the camp, of whom only one hundred were soldiers, there were less than twenty fanegas of corn; and it was pointed out that it would be necessary to send to the jurisdictions of the Mansos Indians to secure provisions, because the enemy was possessed of all the sources of supply within a radius of forty leagues from the camp where it then was. For these and other manifest reasons they were in favor of proceeding to a place of safety. After reaching such a place, they thought, the viceroy should be asked for reinforcements so that the reconquest of the province could be attempted.

Having heard the opinions thus expressed by the principal men in the army, being in great need of supplies, "in a place where the earth was so parched and notched" that no pasture could be found for the cattle, and for many other reasons, Otermín would doubtless have ordered the army to proceed at once but for a letter which he received from Father Ayeta. This letter was written from the "Paso" on September 8.⁷ From it

4. *Auto* of the maestres de campo at Fray Cristóbal, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 34-35 (*infra*, I, pp. 116-118).

5. *Auto* of the sargentos mayores and others at Fray Cristóbal, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 35-36 (*infra*, I, pp. 118-119).

6. "Paraser del Cavdo (de Santa Fe)," in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 37-38 (*infra*, I, pp. 120-121).

7. Ayeta mentions having learned through a letter written to him by García of Otermín's escape. This was evidently the letter of September 4 written by the lieutenant general just after he learned that Otermín was relatively near.

Otermín learned that Ayeta, who had not had time to receive his message of September 7 from Socorro, was in doubt regarding the needs of the refugees, notwithstanding the request for aid which had been sent him through García's letter of September 4.

After stating further that he had sent the first news of the revolt to Mexico by Father Nicolás López, Ayeta concluded with the injunction and hope that Otermín would join him at El Paso at once.⁸

Immediately upon the receipt of the letter, in order that the least possible delay might follow this already unfortunate doubt, Otermín decided to postpone his decision in regard to the opinions just expressed in the junta, and instead ordered that twelve soldiers should be equipped to go with him on the journey to see Father Ayeta. In company with these, Ayeta's secretary, who had come with Leiva and his men,⁹ and another religious, Otermín set out soon afterward, leaving in command in his place the maestres de campo, Francisco Gómez and Alonzo García.¹⁰

Otermín proceeded with all haste down the river, and on September 18¹¹ met Father Ayeta at the place called La Salineta, four leagues above the monastery of Guadalupe del Paso. Ayeta, it seems, in the interval since he had written to Otermín on September 8 asking him to come to the pass of the Río del Norte, had received the latter's communication sent from Socorro on September 7, asking that the supply wagons be started to meet the refugees at once. Accordingly, Father Ayeta, upon the receipt of this request, had started from the pass with twenty-four wagons¹² of provisions, raiment, and munitions. He had

8. Letter of Ayeta to Otermín, September 8, 1680, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 41 (*infra*, I, p. 93).

9. "Carta del Padre Fr. Francisco de Ayeta escrita al R. P. Comisario General (December 20, 1680)," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, I, p. 543 (*infra*, I, p. 212).

10. "Autto (de Otermín)," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 39 (*infra*, I, p. 130).

11. De Thoma (*Historia Popular de Nuevo México*, p. 93) erroneously states that all the New Mexican refugees reached La Salineta on September 18.

12. Ayeta—"Carta del Padre Fr. Francisco de Ayeta escrita al R. P. Comisario General," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, I, p. 541 (*infra*, I, p. 212)—and Otermín—"Autto Y diligencia," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 43 (*infra*, I, p. 130)—both state that Ayeta had twenty-four wagons when he set out for La Salineta. There is, apparently, no foundation for Davis's statement (*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 298) that he set out from El Paso with four wagons.

apparently been unable to cross the river at El Paso, the usual fording place, and so had continued up the west side of the river. The progress of the wagons had been slow, however, for the heavy rains and the melting snow on the mountains had caused the stream to overflow, so that it covered the roads and all the adjacent meadows and lateral valleys (*ancones*). After proceeding about four leagues from Guadalupe under such difficulties, Ayeta had decided on the morning of September 18, at about 8 o'clock, to brave the dangers involved in an attempt to cross the swollen river. Accordingly, six¹³ spans of mules were hitched to the first wagon, and Ayeta himself, accompanied by a number of skilled Indian swimmers, drove into the river. The water was higher and more dangerous, however, than had been supposed. It rose more than a *vara* above the bed of the wagon, not only damaging the contents, but endangering Father Ayeta's life. Finally, the mules, after much difficulty, were able to reach a higher place where they secured footing, but the wagon remained fast in the middle of the stream. Seeing the impossibility of proceeding, Ayeta cut loose the half-drowned mules from the wagon. At this juncture Otermín and his escort from Fray Cristóbal arrived opposite the wagon on the east bank of the river. Otermín's men, taking in the situation, and realizing Father Ayeta's danger, hastened to his assistance, and bore him on their shoulders to a place of safety on the east bank. After much difficulty the wagon was extricated at about six o'clock in the evening, some four hours after Otermín's arrival. As soon as convenient, Otermín and Ayeta entered into a consultation as to what should be done, and it was decided, since it was impossible to proceed further with the wagons, to have men swim their horses and transport supplies across the river, so that they might be sent to the needy ones that night. This was done, and the next day still another pack train of supplies was started, both of which in due time reached their destination.

13. Otermín, who wrote on the same day the fording of the river was attempted but who was not an eye-witness, says, "el qual carro abiendolo puesto quatro andanas de mulas le arroxaron al Rio." In "Autto Y diligencia," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 43 (*infra*, I, p. 130). Ayeta, writing three months later of the same occurrence, says, "y alentando mi gente puse al carro Capitan seis andanas de acémilas." In "Carta del Padre Fr. Francisco de Ayeta escrita al R. P. Comisario General," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, I, p. 542 (*infra*, I, p. 212).

These supplies, consisting of corn, hardtack, flour, chocolate, and sugar, the officers were instructed to distribute freely to all the people in both divisions, after which they were to continue the retreat south.¹⁴

Otermín did not accompany the soldiers who went along to guard the supply trains, but at Ayeta's request stayed behind and crossed the river to make an inventory of the provisions in the wagons, as well as of the supplies that had been left at the monastery of Guadalupe, so that in case these should be found to be insufficient, others might be secured before the people arrived. Four days later, after having registered the amount of provisions in the wagons, and having returned from the monastery of Guadalupe where he had gone for the same purpose, Otermín drew up a report to the effect that in those two places there were 400 bushels of shelled corn and 400 head of cattle and sheep, all of which Father Ayeta said might be distributed to the people when they should arrive. But that the supply might not run short, Otermín sent out foraging parties to Casas Grandes, to Tarmaures, eighty leagues distant, and to other places, to buy all the corn and meat possible and bring them to El Paso.¹⁵

This was on September 22; nothing more is recorded of the movements either of those at La Salineta or of the main body of refugees until September 29. On that day, however, all the people had reached La Salineta, as is evidenced by an *auto* drawn up by Otermín¹⁶ on that day ordering a general review of the camp. By this time, practically speaking, New Mexico had been abandoned by the Spaniards. We now come to the story of their settlement in the vicinity of modern El Paso.

14. For the events attending the attempted fording of the river by Ayeta and the subsequent occurrences, see "Auto Y diligencia," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 43 (*infra*, 1, pp. 130-131); "Carta del Padre Fr. Francisco de Ayeta escrita al R. P. Comisario General," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, 1, pp. 541-544 (*infra*, 1, pp. 212-213).

15. "Auto y diligencia," in *Autos tocantes*, f. 44 (*infra*, 1, pp. 132-133).

16. Whether or not Otermín went to meet Gómez and García is not stated, though such seems to have been his original intention.

IX. THE TEMPORARY CAMP AT LA SALINETA

THE GENERAL MUSTER

Having assembled at La Salineta, a place within the present limits of Texas, all the survivors of the revolt, with the exception of those who had fled across the Río Grande, and with their actual needs provided for through the generosity of Father Ayeta, it was now necessary for Otermín to form some permanent plan for the future. Hitherto the condition of the refugees had been such that only the most pressing needs could be considered and only tentative plans formulated. In fact, the situation had been such that time had not been taken to determine accurately their actual numbers and strength. Accordingly, in order that he might be guided in his decision by definite information regarding the number, quality, and equipment of the men capable of military service, and at the same time that a report might be made of both the survivors and those lost in the revolt, Otermín first of all ordered a review of all the people at La Salineta.¹ The order was proclaimed on the 29th of September, and on the same day the review began. As each man passed before the governor, he was accompanied by all the members of his family, and carried with him his personal property, including arms, ammunition, and provisions, a complete inventory being taken down and attested to by the man himself. These muster rolls fill some twelve folios of written matter.²

The muster was continued without interruption for three days when on October 1 a temporary halt was occasioned by a number of the people having gone without permission to the monastery of Guadalupe, whence they were scattering into Nueva Vizcaya. As soon as he learned of this, in order that the muster rolls might be completed and that further delay might

1. "Auto Para pasar nuestra resena de armas cavallos y otras cosas," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 45 (*infra*, I, p. 136); *Auto* of Otermín, *ibid.*, f. 57 (*infra*, I, p. 153).

2. For the complete muster rolls from which these are taken, see *Auttos tocantes*, ff. 45-55 and 58-60 (*infra*, I, pp. 136-153, 157-159).

not be occasioned in completing the reports that were to be sent to the viceroy, Otermín, on October 1, sent Francisco Xavier to El Paso with a message to Joseph López de Gracia³ (the lieutenant of Andrés López de Gracia, alcalde mayor of the valley of San Antonio de Casas Grandes),⁴ who was at that time at Guadalupe, ordering him or any other officer of Nueva Vizcaya, to arrest and send back to La Salineta any person, no matter what his rank, character, or condition, who might attempt to cross the river into that province. Gracia promptly promised to put the order into effect, and requested Otermín to make this fact publicly known.⁵

In thus complying with Otermín's demand, Gracia was acting in harmony with his own governor, Bartolomé de Estrada. Before the main body of refugees reached La Salineta, Otermín had written to Estrada, at Parral, that he feared that when the refugees should reach La Salineta they would be inclined to scatter to Casas Grandes, Carretas, and other parts of Nueva Vizcaya, as well as into Sonora, whereas they should all be required to settle together in some designated place until assistance could be secured from the viceroy. Upon the receipt of this letter Estrada at once (September 24, 1680) ordered Captain Andrés López de Gracia, or in case of his absence or incapacity, Captain Alonso Pérez Granillo, alcalde mayor of Carretas and Janos, to go at once to El Paso to prevent any person from crossing into Nueva Vizcaya without Otermín's permission, under threat of the death penalty. If any person had already so crossed, and arranged to settle, his arrangements were to be annulled, on the authority of Estrada. Gracia was to leave his lieutenant at El Paso to carry out the order, and any laxity or lack of vigilance on the part of the officers was punishable by a fine of \$10,000.⁶

3. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 58 (*infra*, I, p. 156). *Auto* of Joseph López de Gracia, in *ibid.*, ff. 79-80 (*infra*, I, p. 186).

4. "Mandamto del Goveror y Cappañ gel del p.1," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 79 (*infra*, I, pp. 184-186).

5. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 55; *ibid.*, ff. 57-58 (*infra*, I, pp. 153, 155-156).

6. "Mandamto del Goveror y Cappañ gel del p.1," in *Auttos tocantes*, ff. 79-80 (*infra*, I, pp. 184-186). I am dependent on this order for the fact that Otermín wrote to Estrada from La Salineta on this subject.

It is not recorded when Joseph López de Gracia received Estrada's order, or whether Andrés López de Gracia went to El Paso at all. On October 5, however, Joseph López de Gracia published it "en el Pueblo de nra Señora de Guadalupe de passo Jurisdiccion de la nueva Bizcaya," in the presence of "many people of the pueblo as well as of the provinces of New Mexico."⁷ As we have seen, Gracia had already agreed four days previously to carry out like instructions at Otermín's demand, for on that day Francisco Xavier returned to the Spanish camp at La Salineta with this information.⁸ Whether López de Gracia had at that time received Estrada's order I am unable to say, though I presume that he had. Otermín had already threatened with severe punishment any who should be guilty of desertion in the future.⁹ Thereby, together with the coöperation of López de Gracia at the pass, the dispersion of the people at La Salineta was checked and the review was continued without further recorded interruption.

The total number of persons who passed this muster, including soldiers, servants, women, children, and Indian allies, was, according to the sworn statement of Otermín, 1946. During the retreat to La Salineta, Otermín, García, and others frequently stated that there were 2500 refugees in the two divisions. Of these it was estimated that there were 1500 in García's division and 1000 in Otermín's.¹⁰ Taking these estimates as being approximately correct, it is seen that at least several hundred of the refugees crossed into Nueva Vizcaya without having been listed at La Salineta. Of the total number of the 1946, only 155 were men capable of bearing arms. The number of horses was 471, though, as the muster rolls showed, these were for the most part so poor and weak that they were unfit for military service. There was only one horse for every fourth person, even if we assume that none of the horses were used to transport the few

7. *Auto* of Joseph López de Gracia, in *Auttos tocantes*, ff. 79-80 (*infra*, I, p. 186).

8. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 58 (*infra*, I, p. 156).

9. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 55 (*infra*, I, p. 153); *ibid.*, f. 57 (*infra*, I, p. 155).

10. "Autto (de Otermín): Salieron el día 22," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 8 (*infra*, I, p. 18); "Carta (de Otermín á Parraga)," in *ibid.*, f. 31 (*infra*, I, p. 90); "Pareser del Cavdo (de Santa Fé)," in *ibid.*, f. 37 (*infra*, I, p. 120).

provisions and other things which the refugees brought with them. The supplies are not listed, but the statement is made that the people were provided with meat, corn, and munitions. For this reason, notwithstanding the fact that a number of the guns were broken and practically useless, and although a great many of the men were entirely destitute of both weapons and horses, Otermín recorded his belief that his force was sufficiently strong to settle at that place, or some more convenient one near by, with a fair degree of safety.¹¹

The Indian allies who passed in review before the governor were inhabitants of the four Piros pueblos of Senecú, Socorro, Alamillo, and Sevilleta, and numbered 317 persons in all.¹² These Indians, many of whom had already abandoned their pueblos before the revolt because of the ravages of their Apache neighbors,¹³ had followed the Spaniards, to whom they had at least outwardly remained friendly, as far as La Salineta.

THE DECISION TO SETTLE EL PASO

With the women and children in a place of safety, and with the people and equipment listed, Otermín was brought at last face to face with the question as to whether or not an attempt should be made to reconquer New Mexico. This was no new question. At Isleta it had arisen for García and his advisers to decide in the negative, for such an attempt in their condition, believing as they did that the governor and inhabitants of Santa Fe were all dead, could not be thought of. When Socorro was reached and the testimony of Herrera and Chávez tended to indicate that the inhabitants of Santa Fe were still alive, the question had again come up, but it was almost unanimously agreed that in their weak condition the first thing to consider was the protection of the many women and children with them, hence it was decided to go on to meet the supply train before even attempting to ascertain the fate of the northern inhabitants. When Otermín himself left Santa Fe, he did so as quickly

11. "Autto de Junta de guerra," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 61 (*infra*, 1, pp. 159-162).

12. Muster rolls, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 60 (*infra*, 1, p. 159).

13. Letter of the Cabildo of Santa Fe to the viceroy, October 16, 1680, in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 98 (*infra*, 1, pp. 204-205).

as possible in order that he might unite his forces with those whom he thought to be at Isleta, there to decide on a plan for subduing the rebellion. However, the two divisions were not joined till Fray Cristóbal was reached, and there the question of a return was again discussed but was tabled until the women and children should be put in a place of safety. Now this had been accomplished, and the fighting strength of the survivors determined. It behooved all, therefore, "as loyal vassals of his majesty," to consider seriously the question of a return to Santa Fe. For this purpose Otermín called a council, composed of the members of the cabildo of Santa Fe, the military officers, the friars, and all others who might wish to attend, in order that they might help him decide the grave matter, touching, as it did, both the spiritual and the temporal welfare of the province.¹⁴

This order was published on October 2, and, shortly afterward, all the men having assembled in the plaza de armas, the discussion was opened by Father Ayeta. He did not express his opinion as to whether or not an attempt at reconquest should be made, stating that since he had no experience in military matters such a question would have to be decided by the soldiers. If, however, they should decide that their strength was sufficient, then, in his opinion, the reduction of the apostates should be attempted. In this matter he spoke for the whole body of religious, who were willing to abide by the decision of the council and to assist in whatever was agreed upon. If it was decided to reconquer the province, he would aid the troops with the necessary provisions and munitions, though he could not furnish them with horses. For the use of the soldiers he offered twenty breastplates, four dozen stirrups, fifty bridles, and other necessities, such as hats, shoes, and two hundred varas of linen for shirts; he would see that the women and children and the guard left behind were also provided with necessities; in case the council should decide that their means were not sufficient to attempt this reconquest, he would supply the camp, in whatever place they might decide to locate it, with ten head of cattle and eight

14. "Autto de Junta de guerra," in *Auttos tocantes*, f. 62 (*infra*, I, pp. 159-162).

fanegas of corn daily; he called attention to the fact that provisions had to be secured eighty leagues away, and that the wagons should be started as soon as possible after more, so that the supply might not fail; he concluded by stating that he agreed to furnish the refugees with supplies only until the viceroy might be informed of their condition and aid them or advise them what to do.¹⁵ After Ayeta had spoken, several of the other religious expressed themselves as agreeing with him, some offering to lose their lives, if necessary, should the attempt to reconquer the province be made.¹⁶

Following the religious, a large number of officers and soldiers went on record as either favoring or opposing an attempt at immediate reconquest. Those who favored it were Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza and Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, the former a man of long experience and great influence. Both advised accepting the aid proffered by Father Ayeta, and removing the camp to La Toma del Río del Norte, whence they might inform the viceroy of events in New Mexico and ask him for provisions, equipment, and a presidio; while awaiting the reply of the viceroy they favored sending a body of troops to New Mexico to capture as many rebels as possible, in order to use them as peace emissaries to the revolted tribes. Juan Domínguez, however, made the proposed entrada conditional on the volition of the men and better equipment for both men and horses.¹⁷ Eight sargentos mayores, captains, and soldiers supported the arguments of the Mendozas, some on the condition that the people at El Paso were left with sufficient protection and provisions; others on condition that the choicest horses available in the surrounding region be given the soldiers.

The chief opponents of an immediate reconquest were Francisco Gómez Robledo, Alonso García, and Pedro Durán y Chávez. All three based their opposition on the jaded condition of the men and horses and lack of equipment; and they favored

15. *Auto* of Otermín and Ayeta, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 62-63 (*infra*, 1, pp. 162-164).

16. *Autos* of Otermín and the religious at La Salineta, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 63-64 (*infra*, 1, p. 164-166).

17. *Auto* of Otermín and Mendoza, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 64-65 (*infra*, 1, pp. 167-168).

appealing to the viceroy for aid. Robledo feared the unrest of the Sonora Indians, from whose influence the Mansos and Sumas Indians were not secure; García regarded the building of huts to protect the ill-clad citizens as of first importance; Chávez wanted one hundred men for garrison duty and one hundred as settlers before undertaking the conquest. The cabildo of Santa Fe, which supported this faction, also regarded soldiers, arms, and supplies to establish a garrison as prerequisites to the undertaking. Captain Pedro Márquez, Sebastián de Herrera, and four other officers cast the weight of their opinion against immediate action.¹⁸

FEARS IN THE NEIGHBORING PROVINCES

Just at the conclusion of the junta de guerra, Otermín received two letters from friends at San Juan Bautista in Sonora which are especially interesting in this connection, since they illustrate how fears spread, as a result of the revolt in New Mexico, to other provinces, since they contained much the same ideas as had already been expressed by the majority of those at La Salineta, and since they exerted considerable influence upon Otermín in helping him reach his decision, and later influenced the authorities in Mexico when they were considering the plans that should be adopted for the reconquest of New Mexico. One of the letters in question was from Don Francisco de Agramontes, former governor *ad interim* of Nueva Vizcaya, a person of much experience in the northern provinces, and well informed in Indian matters.¹⁹ The writer stated that the day before (September 15) he had received news of the revolt of the Indians, of the governor's wound, and of Ayeta having sent eighty musketeers (seventy-eight is the correct number) and supplies for their aid. After consoling Otermín for the loss of his province he suggested that it would be well to form a plaza de armas at El Paso and then send Father Ayeta to Mexico to represent the whole situation to the viceroy. In his opinion at least three hundred men, fully armed and able to fortify them-

18. *Autos* of Otermín and others at La Salineta, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 66-70 (*infra*, I, pp. 169-175). *Auto* of Otermín and García, *ibid.*, f. 71 (*infra*, I, pp. 175-176).

19. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 80 (*infra*, I, p. 187).

selves in the villa of Santa Fe, should be sent to reconquer the province. By this means the Indians could be reduced and kept in subjection. The matter, as he saw it, was a serious one, for the province of Nueva Vizcaya was very liable to experience a similar misfortune should the New Mexican rebels be unpunished and the province abandoned, since the Janos, Yumas, and other natives of Nueva Vizcaya, seeing the success of their neighbors, would also revolt, and in this way make the ruin in the northern provinces of New Spain complete.²⁰ On October 3 the cabildo in an official communication to the governor emphasized the reports that the neighboring Indians and also those of other parts were convoked for a general revolt.²¹

Thus it is seen that Agramontes and others viewed the revolt and apostasy of the New Mexican Indians with great misgivings for the security of the northern frontiers, and likewise that the necessity of maintaining the refugees in some fortified and contiguous place until the province should be reconquered was recognized. The same conclusions had been reached even earlier than this and independently by Father Ayeta, than whom there was doubtless no man better qualified to speak with judgment concerning the affairs in northern New Spain. On August 31, when Ayeta was under the impression that only the Río Abajo refugees had escaped from New Mexico, he had notified the viceroy that he had had Pedro de Leiva elected provisional governor in place of Otermín, whom he supposed to be dead, in order that the refugees might be made to halt at El Paso when they should arrive there. For, as he stated, not to do so would mean that Parral would be lost. Moreover, he pointed out that El Paso was a suitable place for establishing a base of operations for the purpose of subduing the natives, possessing suitable sites for a large settlement, and an abundant water supply.²² He further stated that he had written to Governor Estrada, asking him for aid, but that he knew Estrada would not be able to send

20. Letter of Agramontes to Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 81 (*infra*, I, pp. 188-189).

21. The cabildo to the governor, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 74 (*infra*, I, pp. 180-181).

22. "Carta del Padre Visitador á el Exmo. Sr. Virrey," in *N. Mex. Doc.*, I, p. 564 (*infra*, I, p. 49).

it even if he wished, because there was danger of his own province experiencing a similar revolt. He judged this because he had learned that the Indians in that vicinity had stated that they were going to devastate the valley of San Bartolomé and kill all the Spaniards there. He added that he inferred they would be able to succeed in doing so, because so far as he could judge the Indians were united as one, in view of which fact Estrada's forty soldiers would be insignificant.²³

The other letter which Otermín received was from Juan de Escorsa, sargento mayor in Sonora. The writer expressed his sorrow for the misfortunes that had befallen the province of New Mexico, unexampled in all New Spain, and of ill omen for other provinces. He stated that on September 10 reports of the revolt were received in those parts, but were taken lightly. On September 15 the early reports were confirmed by letters from El Paso and from Casas Grandes, among them being one from Father Ayeta to a certain Andrés. After consoling Otermín for his misfortunes and reminding him of the afflictions and tribulations of Job, Escorsa assured him that after the barbarians had arranged such a plan as that which they had executed, it might well be counted miraculous that a single man escaped.²⁴

DECISION TO DELAY THE RECONQUEST

On October 5, before Otermín announced his decision as to whether or not he would attempt the reconquest of New Mexico before hearing from the viceroy, the sargento mayor, Luis de Granillo, appeared before him and, in behalf of all the people in the camp, presented a petition asking that, because of the many dangers and inconveniences which beset them at La Salineta, the whole camp be allowed to move to a place on the opposite side of the river near the monastery of Guadalupe. There, it was stated, pasture could be secured for the cattle,

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 575-576 (*infra*, I, pp. 52-53).

24. Letter of Escorsa to Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, ff. 83-84 (*infra*, I, pp. 190-191). Escorsa very cordially invited Otermín to visit him in his home at the mines of Nacatovori, saying that his hacienda some distance away was not finished because lumber, which cost almost its weight in silver, was so hard to secure. He concluded by stating that although he was deeply in debt, having lately spent more than 25,000 pesos, he expected to have his home ready for entertaining Otermín before the end of the year, "so that you may have much pleasure and recreation in it."

and firewood obtained, and huts and wigwams built for the protection of the people. Otermín in reply assured the petitioners that the request would be granted.²⁵

The next day the governor formally announced his decision concerning the question of attempting the reconquest of the province at that time. In an *auto* summarizing the opinions expressed in the junta de guerra of October 2, he stated that he agreed with the cabildo of Santa Fe and the majority of the other experienced men, and that an expedition would not be sent to reconquer the revolted province until further aid could be secured from the viceroy. In giving this decision the governor emphasized the fact that winter was approaching and that there was no shelter for the people. Moreover, because of the two letters which he had received from San Juan Bautista, he felt that it was more imperative to make a stand in that place than to attempt to make an entrada with his weakened forces. Since they could be furnished with necessary supplies through the liberality of Father Ayeta until royal aid might be received, he thought it best that his soldiers should not be separated until that time. Accordingly, he ordered the *autos* to be arranged preparatory to sending them to the viceroy.²⁶

Having reached this decision Otermín instructed Alcalde Ordinario Juan Lucero de Godoy and Sargento Mayor Diego López to notify Ayeta of this decision and in behalf of himself and of all the other people in the camp to thank the reverend father formally for what he had already done and for the proposition which he had made to continue to aid them. This was done, and in reply Father Ayeta sent Otermín notice that he was able by that time to increase the daily allowance of corn from eight to ten fanegas because he had bought, since the day he began to succor the people, six hundred more fanegas, while two wagons were to be sent out on the 18th on a similar purchasing expedition. Moreover, he stated that only that day he had bought and paid for 1,640 head of cattle²⁷ in the jurisdiction of

25. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 77 (*infra*, I, pp. 183-184).

26. *Ibid.*, f. 85 (*infra*, I, pp. 192-193).

27. On January 9, 1681, Father Ayeta advised the Junta General in Mexico city that he had bought a total of 1,650 head of cattle. *Autos tocantes*, f. 108 (*infra*, I, p. 240).

Casas Grandes, all of which he freely gave, asking that it be distributed among the people most needing it. In conclusion he supplicated the people to be patient, promising to send to Parral for wool to clothe them, and stating that he would reserve for himself and his order nothing more than the insignia of his patron, Saint Francis, and would sacrifice all for their welfare and comfort until royal aid could be secured.²⁸

28. *Auto of Ayeta in Autos tocantes*, ff. 85-86 (*infra*, I, pp. 193-194).

X. SETTLEMENT OF THE REFUGEES AT EL PASO

EARLY HISTORY OF THE EL PASO DISTRICT

At the time the retreating settlers of New Mexico determined to make El Paso their base of operations in the reconquest of the revolted provinces, there were already established at that place a mission group administering to the Mansos, Sumas, and the outlying Janos Indians, and a small nucleus of Spanish settlers about the missions. In 1659, priests from New Mexico had founded Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at the pass, and between 1659 and 1680 two other missions were founded in the vicinity, one called San Francisco, twelve leagues below, on the Río del Norte, and another called La Soledad, among the Janos Indians, seventy leagues to the southwest of Guadalupe. All three appear to have been within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of New Mexico and directly governed from that center. Evidence points to a civil organization of the settlers in the neighborhood as early as 1659, but the details concerning this phase of the Spanish activities in the El Paso region are more fragmentary than those relating to religious matters.

THE SETTLEMENT AT EL PASO

It has already been shown that on October 6 Otermín made public his determination to encamp at El Paso, on the right bank of the Río del Norte. By the 9th the camp appears to have been moved to the new site. The people were placed in three camps at intervals of two leagues. The governor and the cabildo occupied the Real de San Lorenzo, and with them five religious; all were sheltered in rude wooden huts. The Real de San Pedro de Alcántara was the second camp; it was administered by four religious. The third camp was Real del Santísimo Sacramento, in which dwelt Father Alvaro de Zavaleta and other religious. The arrangements were probably completed by October 20, when Otermín wrote to the viceroy: "I am

bivouacked and fortified on this Río del Norte, waiting your excellency's order as to what ought to be done."¹

PROVISION OF A PRESIDIO

As far as the documents now available indicate, the paramount interest of Otermín and the cabildo, during the next twelve months, was the question of a presidio for El Paso. In compliance with the recommendations of the governor, the central authorities took the matter under advisement in January, 1681, and in the same month decided to grant it, empowering the governor to carry out the plans. Whether or not Otermín attempted to found the presidio is not clear from the documents, but he appears to have formed some kind of guard to protect the citizens during his absence on the entrada made in November, 1681, with the intention of reconquering New Mexico.

While it is not purposed at the present time to continue the history of El Paso settlements further than the departure of Otermín's army from El Paso for New Mexico on November 5, 1681, a few words will not be out of place here on subsequent events there. As has already been noted the presidio and the settlement at El Paso were not meant to be permanent. However, when Otermín returned in the winter of 1681-1682 from his unsuccessful attempt to reconquer the province, it was realized by the authorities that several expeditions might have to be made before the people of El Paso could reënter New Mexico. Accordingly, the Spaniards were required to settle in several pueblos and to make preparations for planting crops to maintain themselves there indefinitely. In this way the plans for settlement were given a sort of permanence. Events of the next few years, as will be shown later, served to make them entirely permanent.²

1. Letter of Otermín, in *Autos tocantes*, f. 102 (*infra*, I, p. 211).

2. The summary given above is based on material gathered from the four expedientes: *Autos tocantes*, *Autos pertenecientes*, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, and an expediente without a title.

Autos sobre los Socorros q pide el Govr. de la na. Mexico y otras nottas tocantes a la Sublevacion de los Yndios Barbaros de aquellas provias; años de 1684-1685 is an expediente in Archivo General de México, Sección de Provincias Internas, tomo 37. See Bolton, *Guide*, p. 94. A transcript of this expediente is in the Bolton collection.

XI. THE MARCH TO ISLETA AND THE CAPTURE OF THAT PUEBLO

The full story of the actual establishment in temporary settlements of most of the New Mexico citizens, numbering in all over 2,000 souls; of the misery, privations, and danger from Indian attacks attending them for one whole year while awaiting assistance and instructions from the viceroy; of the desertion of many of the refugees to adjacent districts; of the arrival of Father Ayeta from Mexico city in September, 1681, with a wagon train of supplies and reinforcements for the settlers, and with orders from the superior government for Otermín to make an expedition into New Mexico for the purpose of reducing the apostates; and, finally, of the completion of preparations for the expedition in the face of severe opposition encountered among the citizens, forms a most interesting and significant narrative. Passing over the detailed events of that year of hardship and uncertainty, it is proposed in the following pages to give a full account of Otermín's expedition into New Mexico in the winter of 1681-1682, and to point out the significance of the results attending this attempt, especially from the standpoint of the new settlements at El Paso.¹

1. The expediente entitled *Autos Pertenecientes*, described in the Preface, contains the principal sources for the remainder of this Introduction. From the Mexican archives two other documents have been used. These are found in a collection without a title in the Archivo General y Público de Mexico, Provincias Internas, 35, Expediente no. 2. (See Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, p. 93.) Copies of all of the above described documents are in the private collection of Dr. Bolton. To him I am indebted not only for the free use of all these transcripts but for many helpful suggestions while this study was being continued. In addition to the sources from the Mexican archives, photostat copies of all of the original documents in the New Mexico archives (hereinafter referred to as N. M. Archs.), now in the Museum of New Mexico at Santa Fe, and formerly in the Library of Congress, which belong to this period, have been examined. To Mr. Gaillard Hunt of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress I am indebted for many favors while securing these copies. One expediente from the last mentioned collection, referred to hereinafter as Expediente no. 8, New Mexico Archives (see, Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, ii, p. 70) contains important data on

By the beginning of November, 1681, practically all arrangements had been completed at El Paso for the expedition which Governor Otermín, supported and encouraged by Father Ayeta, was preparing to lead against the Pueblo rebels of New Mexico. On the morning of November 5, the governor by that time having appointed all the necessary officers (*cabos de guerra*), and having organized the companies that were to guard the horses, wagon-mules, and cattle of the expedition, the royal standard was unfurled, the trumpets were sounded, and the expedition set out in regular marching order and military formation from the plaza de armas of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso. The Río del Norte was crossed, and, the expedition keeping well together, the journey was continued that day, as begun, until nearly sundown.² By November 7, the third day after having set out from the pueblo of Guadalupe, the force had arrived at the Ancón de Fray García, "six leagues from El Paso . . . and more than twenty leagues from the plaza de armas of San Lorenzo." There Otermín decided to stop and to enroll, review, and ammunition the soldiers; to record the apportionment of supplies; to organize the soldiers into squads, and make other necessary arrangements for continuing the march; and, particularly, to ascertain and record the number of men, arms, horses, and supplies. The latter motive is quite significant. For Otermín believed that it would not only be difficult but even impossible with the force which he had, composed in part of mere boys and raw recruits, to succeed on the expedition. And yet, being forced to undertake it, out of deference to his "obligations as a vassal, and in order to give just fulfillment to the specific mandates and orders" of the authorities, he was especially desirous that the full strength, or rather the weakness, of his force should be made known to the viceroy. The reason why this general review and registry of forces had not been made before leaving El Paso was that it "had been impossible to succeed in complet-

2. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 4-5 (*infra*, II, p. 202).

the strength and military equipment of the expedition, and has been utilized for the present Introduction. (See *infra*, II, pp. 32-88, 153-183, 190-201, for translations of documents from the expediente referred to.) Several sources, both primary and secondary, from the Bancroft collection have also been utilized.

ing the lists after they were begun on account of many people having ignored the proclamations and appeals"—not only those of Otermín but those of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya as well—to the former citizens of New Mexico to enlist in the undertaking to reconquer that province. In fact, up to that day, of all the citizens of New Mexico who had left it previous to the revolt, as well as of those who had deserted from El Paso after having accompanied Otermín there in 1680, not six persons had returned to enlist under the standard of their governor. Now that he was well under way toward the Pueblo country, with little likelihood of the force being augmented, Otermín gave orders for the review, not only of the inexperienced and youthful members of the expedition, but of the soldiers "who receive the royal wages of his Majesty," in order that a complete list and summary of both classes might be recorded. At the same time Otermín ordered that, from the new supplies lately furnished by Father Ayeta, rations should be apportioned by the *sargentos mayores*, Sebastián de Herrera and Diego López.³

In the muster rolls of the review that followed the governor's decree, the names of one hundred and forty-six soldiers, one of whom was accompanied by his young son, appear.⁴ Of this number sixteen were raw recruits, thus leaving only one hundred and thirty experienced soldiers. With the force were also one hundred and twelve Indian allies of the Mansos, Piros, Tigua, and Jemez nations.⁵ In addition there were twenty-eight servants, nine of whom were armed, accompanying some of the leading Spaniards. Governor Otermín himself took eight servants, all armed and provided with leather jackets and coats of mail.⁶ The only religious mentioned in connection with the expedition were Father Ayeta, the latter's secretary, Father Nicolás López, and Father Antonio Guerra, although it appears

3. "Autto Para Passar mra," in Expediente no. 8, f. 65, N. M. Archs. (*infra*, II, pp. 190-191).

4. Muster rolls, in Expediente no. 8, ff. 65-73, N. M. Archs. Their names are given below, II, pp. 191-201.

5. Muster rolls, in Expediente no. 8, f. 73, N. M. Arch. (*infra*, II, pp. 200-201).

6. Muster rolls, in Expediente no. 8, ff. 65-73, in N. M. Archs. (*infra*, II, pp. 191-201).

that there were other religious along.⁷ It is thus seen that the force of which Governor Otermín was leader was composed of two hundred and ninety or more persons.⁸

The members of the expedition took with them a total of 948 animals,⁹ of which seventy-one at least were mules. Otermín had the largest number, a total of eighty horses and mules being accredited to him, though, as in two other cases, the exact number of each is not given. Next in order in the number of animals taken was Juan Domínguez de Mendoza with twenty-five; Alonso García, Jr., with twenty-two; Diego Lucero de Godoy with twenty-one; Captain Joseph de Padilla with seventeen; Captain Pedro Márquez with sixteen; Sebastián de Herrera with fifteen; Pedro de Leiva, Diego López Sambrano, and Juan Luis with fourteen each; and Francisco Xavier and Luis Granillo with thirteen each. Three of the other soldiers had twelve animals each; three had eleven each; eight had ten each; three had

7. Auto of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 5 (*infra*, II, p. 203); "Declaración del Teniente de la Caualleria," in *ibid.*; "declaración (del Indio Juan)," in *ibid.*, f. 21 (*infra*, II, p. 233).

8. Davis (*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 308) was unable to determine, from the sources at his command, the number of men accompanying Otermín on this expedition. Davis has given the fullest account of this episode that has heretofore appeared, but in many places it is far from accurate. Taking the original official records of the expedition as my authority, I shall point out from time to time a number of Davis's most obvious errors. Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*), although far less vivid and detailed in his account than Davis, is, on the whole, more accurate than the latter. Bancroft, however, is not free from error, as will be seen later on.

9. Muster rolls, in Expediente no. 8, 65-73, in N. M. Archs. (*infra*, II, pp. 190-201). At the conclusion of the muster the statement was recorded that there were, as the lists showed, a total of 852 horses and mules. ("Asi mismo Consta por La dha Lista aVer se alistado ochocientas y Cinquenta y dos Vestias Caullares Y mulares.") A careful examination of the lists, however, reveals the fact that these figures are wrong, errors in addition having been made, and that the correct number was 948. Yet these latter figures do not tally with those contained in a statement made by Otermín several months later to the effect that when the expedition left San Lorenzo and Guadalupe there were 975 horses and mules belonging to it. See "Autto" of Otermín, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 85 (*infra*, II, p. 349): "abiendosse sacado de la Plassa de armas de san lorenzo Y guadalupe el dia que salio el campo nobrsientas Y setenta Y cinco Vestias.") This discrepancy in numbers may possibly be explained by the fact that Father Ayeta had some horses and mules. See *Parecer de Ayeta*, in *ibid.*, f. 64 (*infra*, II, p. 317): "suplico a su señoría que se aga notorio a todos los que se alentaren a yr los socorrera graciosamente con todas las bestias caballeres que pudieren servir y se hallaren del Vaso de los religiosos y suias como tanuien con todas las mulas que quisieren apartar de la hacienda." These were not listed in the general muster.

nine each; nine had eight each; eight had seven each; seventeen had six each; fifteen had five each; twenty-six had four each; twenty-two had three each; fourteen had two each; while five soldiers possessed just one animal each. One of the soldiers had no horses of his own but used those of his father, who was well supplied. No mention is made of any of the Indian allies having had horses. Neither was any record kept of the number of cattle taken along.

The military equipment of the force was deficient in many respects. Excepting Otermín and Francisco Xavier, the secretary of government and war, only twenty-five soldiers were provided with complete outfits of personal arms and full cavalry equipment.¹⁰ Thirty-six others carried complete outfits of personal arms, but were not provided with cavalry equipment;¹¹ three possessed complete outfits of personal arms only;¹² thirty-four had a full outfit of personal arms with the exception of a *terno*,¹³ and one carried all of his personal arms except a *terno* and leather jacket.¹⁴ Of the other forty-five soldiers one possessed only an harquebus, another only a leather shield, while among the remaining forty-three there were in all fourteen swords, fourteen harquebuses, ten shields (*chimales*), eight leather shields (*adargas*), six daggers, five jackets (*coletos*), four lances, and three leather jackets. None of these men possessed more than one of each kind of the above-mentioned articles, while only six men possessed as many as four of the articles, all told.¹⁵

By November 10 the general muster and register at the Ancón de Fray García had been completed. The same day Otermín addressed an *auto de remisión* of the muster rolls to the viceroy. In this document Otermín informed the viceroy that he and his army were to continue on their mission that day, and promised to send full reports of activities later on.¹⁶

10. "Todas armas de su persona y de caballo."

11. "Todas armas de su persona menos terno de caballo."

12. "Todas armas de su persona."

13. "Todas armas de su persona menos terno."

14. "Todas armas de su persona menos terno y cuera."

15. Muster rolls in Expediente no. 8, ff. 65-73, in N. M. Archs. (*infra*, II, pp. 191-201).

16. *Auto de remisión*, in Expediente no. 8, f. 73, N. M. Archs. (*infra*, II, p. 201).

The next stopping place mentioned in the records was Estero Largo, a place forty leagues above San Lorenzo,¹⁷ and therefore about twenty leagues above the Ancón de Fray García. Davis¹⁸ is wrong in stating that the expedition reached Estero Largo by sundown on the evening of November 5. Unfortunately no dates are given after the army left the Ancón de Fray García until San Pasqual was reached on the morning of November 27, hence the time spent in advancing from the former place to Estero Largo is indeterminate. While at the latter place smoke signals, sent up by the Indians to warn other tribes of the approach of the Spaniards, were seen in various directions. These warnings, the Spaniards estimated, were thus disseminated over a distance of thirty leagues.

From Estero Largo the force proceeded to a place called Robledo. At this point the river was left, and continuing north, they entered upon the desert country since known as the *Jornada Del Muerto* (the journey of death). This stretch of territory, more than thirty-two leagues in extent, was described as being without a single spring, arroyo, or permanent water hole, and with only a few holes and draws in which water had collected from the rains. Familiar with the desert condition of the district, Otermín, before leaving Robledo, dispatched a squad of soldiers to locate the watering places. Only in one place, El Perrillo, was there found enough water for all of the people and some of the livestock to drink. Accordingly, in order to reach Fray Cristóbal, on the northern border of this district, it was found necessary to traverse these thirty-two leagues by forced marches, and for two days and one night no halt was called. At the end of that time a place called La Cruz de Anaya, seven leagues from the river, was reached.¹⁹ As the livestock were suffering for water, a halt was called at La Cruz de Anaya and Otermín, Father Ayeta and the

17. Otermín to the viceroy, February 11, 1681, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 104 (*infra*, II, p. 370).

18. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 309.

19. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 5 (*infra*, II, p. 202): "se Camino dos días y una noche. . . hasta Vn paraje que llaman la cruz de anaya de donde ay çiete leguas al río del norte Para caer a otro Paraje que llaman de Fray Xptoual." Fray Cristóbal, as pointed out in the account of the retreat *supra*, was approximately sixteen leagues south of Socorro, nine leagues below Senecú, six leagues below where the inhabited district of upper New Mexico began, and fifty-seven leagues (according to some documents, sixty leagues) above El Paso.

other religious, together with thirty soldiers, remained there over night with the wagons, munitions, provisions, and camp equipment, while the rest of the men drove the livestock on to the river. The next day mules and horses were sent back to La Cruz de Anaya for the wagons and men who had been left there, and about sundown these joined the main division on the river. All having been safely united again, prayers were said and thanks given to God "for our having passed through such suffering."²⁰

From this place the Spaniards proceeded along the Río del Norte to El Contadero, where camp was pitched for the night. There tracks of Apache Indians and of their horses were discovered. Accordingly, Otermín ordered that a squad of forty Spanish soldiers and some Indian allies on foot should be prepared to go on the following day to reconnoiter the district above them as far north as the pueblo of Senecú, the first of the pueblos between El Paso and Santa Fe. With these soldiers Otermín, Father Ayeta and the other religious, and some of the officers, left the main division the next morning, November 26, and, crossing the river, proceeded to the pueblo of Senecú. The place was found absolutely deserted. Many signs were seen which indicated that the natives had been oppressed by the Apaches, and had left their homes through fear. The walls of the burned church and monastery had been left standing, though these were then beginning to crumble. Two bells were found in the belfries, and a third one without a clapper was found in the cemetery. In the latter place a bronze cannon of about one hundred and seventy-five pounds weight, which had formerly served as defense for the church and pueblo, and an old pine cross, were found. Another cross was found in the main plaza of the pueblo. In the sacristy, the wig and diadem of a crucifix were found lying on the ground, likewise an altar, or communion table, and two fragments of another one. By order of Father Ayeta, some crosses, found in the houses of the pueblo that were intact, together with the wig and the diadem of the crucifix and a few other things from the altars were piled in a heap and burned. The altar and the fragments of the other one

20. *Auto of Xavier*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 5 (*infra*, II, p. 203).

were thrown into the river. Father Ayeta then requested Otermín to have the clappers removed from the bells in the tower and the bells secured so that they might be carried to the wagons. Otermín granted this request and at the same time gave similar orders regarding the cannon. The three bells and the cannon were not taken away from the pueblo at that time, as Davis²¹ supposed, but were hidden and taken to El Paso when the army passed this pueblo on its retreat in January of the next year.²² Otermín then ordered the pueblo set afire, and the rest of the day was spent in burning it. Since the main body of the army and the wagons had by that time arrived opposite the pueblo, Otermín and his men crossed the river and joined them that night.²³

The next morning, November 27,²⁴ the army marched in a body to the ruins of the old pueblo of San Pasqual. A halt was called there for the rest of the day on account of some trails, supposedly of Apache Indians, having been seen. They appeared to lead from the direction of the upper pueblos. No Indians were seen that night, however, and the next day the army marched six leagues up the river, passing on the way four deserted estancias.²⁵ The next morning, all arrangements having been made the night before, Otermín set out in advance of the main division with thirty mounted Spaniards and a number of Indian foot soldiers and reconnoitered the country as far north as Socorro, the Piros pueblo about sixteen leagues above Fray Cristóbal. Socorro, like Senecú, had been deserted by its inhabitants and the church and monastery had been burned. The belfry of the church was still standing, and in it were two bells minus their clappers. In this church, during the revolt of the previous year, the Spaniards had buried some of the images. These had been unearthed and carried away by the Indians. In the sacristy a crown of osiers and two fragments of an arm of an

21. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 311.

22. Records of the Retreat in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 97 (*infra*, II, p. 364).

23. Auto of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 5-6 (*infra*, II, p. 204).

24. Davis (*op. cit.*, p. 311) is wrong in stating that San Pasqual was reached on November 28, and that on the same day the army marched six leagues beyond that ruined pueblo.

25. Davis (*op. cit.*, p. 311) erroneously states that six ruined estancias were passed on this stretch of the journey.

image of Christ were found; in the cloister two skeletons. The main plaza of the pueblo had been closed and fortified with an intrenchment of broken pieces of adobe. Here were found two doors from the sacristy and monastery; an intact thigh, leg, and foot of an image of Christ, the rest of it having been burned; some remnants of other images and many charred pieces of crosses. A large pine crucifix that had formerly been in the cemetery had been demolished: the base chopped to kindling, the arms burned, and the rest left in the plaza. In a nearby corn-field the bones and skulls of two persons were found, together with some remnants of the woolen blankets which they had worn. In the plaza corn-cobs were scattered around which indicated that the pueblo had been sacked. In none of the houses of the pueblo was there a sign of a cross. Before leaving the pueblo Otermín ordered that it be set afire, and while it was burning, with an escort of ten or twelve men he visited a hot spring at the base of a mountain about a league from the pueblo. While on this mission he ascertained that some Apaches had been encamped and in ambush in that region. He judged that it was these Indians who had sacked the pueblo and the apostates who had burned the church, images, and crosses, because the crosses along the roads and in the fields of the Indians were left standing as though placed there by the citizens of New Mexico in the past. On the way back to the camp a hand and a fragment of an arm of a statue of Christ were found. All such fragments of the sacred objects were taken back to the camp and were burned by the order of Father Ayeta.²⁶

The next morning, November 30, the Spaniards continued their journey over a very difficult road. During the day one of the wagons was overturned, and it became necessary to cut down knolls (*lomas*) by hand, and to open up a way for the wagons, which passed over it with great difficulty. A halt was made for the night at a place called the passages of La Vuelta del Socorro. The following morning, in the face of a severe sleet storm, the journey was continued toward the pueblo of Alamillo.²⁷ Governor Otermín again went on in advance of the main division of

²⁶ Auto of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 6-7 (*infra*, II, p. 206).

²⁷ Not Agua Nueva as Davis (*op. cit.*, p. 313) states.

the army to inspect this pueblo, which was located, like the preceding ones, on a plain on the bank of the Río del Norte. This pueblo had been deserted and the church, monastery, and crosses burned—not a sign of a cross being seen in the whole pueblo. Some houses of the pueblo had also been burned or otherwise demolished. The only thing of interest found in the pueblo was one bell with its clapper missing. Otermín ordered the remaining houses to be set afire, and then he and his men joined the other division, which by this time had encamped to one side of the pueblo.²⁸

On the morning of December 2 the army broke camp and proceeded over another bad stretch of up-grade road. That night camp was pitched at a place designated as the entrance of Las Vueltas de Acomilla. From here, on December 4, the journey was begun toward Sevilleta, Otermín and a squad of soldiers again going in the vanguard. Sevilleta was found to have been deserted, the inhabitants, it was judged, having abandoned their homes through fear of the Apaches and having joined the revolt-ers. The hermitage, which had served as a chapel in this pueblo, had been torn down and the timber from it utilized by the Indians for building an estufa. Some of the houses in the pueblo also had been burned. A short distance from the pueblo, in four different places, some deep pits had been dug in the ground. These were full of corn—the most of which had rotted, some large earthen jars, pots, and calabashes. On top of all this, made of clay, was a sort of *thmaxeta*, on which was engraved a figure with the face of an Indian and the body of a toad. Inside of this was a large quantity of herbs; two pieces of human flesh; feathers, and “other superstitious things which the heathen use,” all of which, it was supposed, the apostates had presented as an offering to the figure, in order that it might protect their corn for them. No mention is made at this time of the pueblo having been destroyed, but later evidence shows that it also was burned.²⁹

The army left Sevilleta on December 5 and proceeded to the

28. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 7 (*infra*, II, p. 206).

29. “*Autto de Remison*” in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 101 (*infra*, II, p. 369).

estancia of Las Barrancas,³⁰ mentioned as being twenty-three leagues above Senecú, and ten leagues below Isleta. The estancia of Las Barrancas was the only one in the twenty-three leagues above Senecú that had not been totally destroyed by fire. This one had not been greatly damaged, for although the windows and doors, except the front one, were all gone, the roof was in good condition.

As the Spaniards were now approaching the pueblos which had not been deserted, and as they were only ten leagues from Isleta, whither, it was presumed, the apostates had withdrawn and fortified themselves, Otermín took occasion, at the estancia of Las Barrancas, to promulgate certain orders concerning the discipline to be observed by the soldiers. All were warned that under no circumstances whatsoever should any of them dare to plunder the pueblos or houses of the Indians, or lay claim to any cattle that might be found in the fields. All such property, in whatever condition it might be found, was to be brought to Otermín for adjustment, while everything belonging to the church was to be delivered to Father Ayeta to be disposed of as he rightfully saw fit. The livestock and other property of citizens who had been killed during the revolt were to be distributed among the lawful heirs, should there be any. All cattle which from the brands appeared to belong to the members of the expedition were to be returned to them. Whatever other things might be found, whether belonging to Indians captured in actual war or to servants who had fled during the revolt, were to be distributed among the members of the expedition. Property belonging to Spaniards garrisoned at El Paso was to be zealously taken care of and returned to them. All firearms taken were to be delivered to Otermín, in order that he might keep an exact record of all of his majesty's arms on the frontier. The same rule was to apply also to the horses and sheep captured. All orders were to originate with Otermín and by him were to be handed down to the other officials, whom, as superiors, the private soldiers were instructed to obey fully. The penalty imposed for violation of these laws was punishment by death as a traitor to the king together with the confiscation of all of his

30. *Auto of Xavier*, in *ibid.*, ff. 7-8 (*infra*, II, p. 207).

property. After these ominous orders had been drawn up, Otermín instructed Francisco Xavier, the secretary of government and war, to publish them in the camp.³¹ Accordingly, the same day Xavier had a negro crier named Nicolás de Bargas to announce the governor's *bando* in the plaza de armas.³²

When Otermín began to make preparations for leading an expedition into New Mexico, violent opposition had been encountered among the settlers at El Paso, and it had been only through the concerted efforts of Father Ayeta and Otermín that this opposition was overcome and the expedition started on its way. During the first two weeks of march the soldiers were tractable, seeing, as Father Ayeta stated, "that there was no remedy for it," but, as they approached the Pueblo country, they began to distrust their first encounter with the Indians on account of the great personal risk involved.³³ So, while at the estancia of Las Barrancas, Otermín made arrangements to march in person with seventy³⁴ of his most valorous soldiers to attack the pueblo of Isleta. Prior to this he had sent a scouting party to the hills north of the estancia to ascertain if the pueblo was inhabited. The scouts reported that they had approached to within five leagues of the pueblo and had seen smoke arising from it; they therefore judged that it was inhabited. On the night of December 5, Otermín, with his seventy picked men, marched to within a short distance of Isleta. Just before day he divided his force into four divisions in order to approach the pueblo from all sides. This plan was carried out, and, as the soldiers advanced to the attack, they extolled in loud voices the most holy sacrament. The Indians were completely taken by surprise, and on seeing the Spaniards gave an outcry, seized their arms, and, the entire pueblo having been garrisoned in an incredibly short while, let fly some arrows at the invaders. But their resistance was slight. The Spaniards gained the plaza and *quarteles* without firing a shot, and there Otermín called upon the Indians to

31. "Vando (de Otermín)," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 11-12 (*infra*, II, pp. 213-214).

32. *Auto* of Francisco Xavier, in *ibid.*, f. 12 (*infra*, II, p. 215).

33. *Repuesta de Ayeta*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 63 (*infra*, II, p. 314).

34. Davis (*op. cit.*, p. 314) erroneously states that Otermín was accompanied by sixty soldiers.

surrender peaceably. The Indians then laid down their arms and descended to acknowledge the authority of Otermín. They were very humble, and assured the Spaniards that the reason for having taken up arms against them had been that they had believed that they were being attacked by the Apaches.

Otermín then gave orders that the men, women, and children of the pueblo as well as some outsiders from the Piros pueblos of Socorro, Alamillo, and Sevilleta, and from other pueblos, numbering in all more than five hundred persons, should assemble in the plaza. For the destruction of the crosses in the pueblo, the burning of the monastery and the church, and the conversion of the latter into a corral for some cows, which he ordered driven to the open country at once, Otermín severely reprimanded the Indians. They denied all responsibility for these things and stated that the Indian chiefs of the revolt and all the Indians of Taos and Picurís, and of the Tewa nation, had come down after the Spaniards had been driven out, and, after burning the churches, images, and instruments of divine cult, had ordered them to return to their manner of living as in the days of their paganism before the Spaniards and religious had interfered. These chiefs, the Isleta Indians stated, they had been forced to obey.

Having ordered the Indians to give up whatever they might have belonging to the church or to the Spaniards, Otermín began a search through the houses of the pueblo. In this search the following things belonging to the church were found: the box of the sacarium of the holy sacrament; some pieces of the sashes worn by the priests (*almayzales*); five small bells *de Santus*; four candlesticks; three large bells that were buried in the interior of the church; a mass book, and two other books. Of things belonging to the Spaniards the following were claimed: three animals; a copper dipper; a brass mortar; six iron ploughshares, and other trifles. Everything belonging to the church was handed over to Francisco Xavier to be delivered to Father Ayeta. The other things were given to the owners present. Otermín then issued instruction for crosses to be made that same day, not only those for the houses and plaza of the pueblo, but also smaller ones for the natives to wear around their necks. The day

was made one of general thanksgiving on account of the success that had so far attended the Spaniards.³⁵

Just before dawn, shortly after the attack had been made on the pueblo, two Indians, natives of Puaray, who were outside the pueblo, made their escape. Otermín feared that they would carry the news of the coming of the Spaniards to the other pueblos and that the inhabitants would abandon their homes and make strongholds in the mountains. Accordingly, he sent two Sandia Indians to the other Tigua pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia to demand of their inhabitants in his name that they should surrender as Christians, without resistance, or else be subject to attack by the Spaniards.³⁶

Father Ayeta had not accompanied Otermín when he left for Isleta, but, on account of being indisposed, had remained with the wagons. Otermín now sent a message to him announcing his success at Isleta. Upon hearing this news, Father Ayeta at once set out for the pueblo on horseback, and, when he drew near, Otermín went out to meet him. For his reception at the pueblo, all the Indians, including the women and children, formed in procession. When Father Ayeta saw them he cried out in a loud voice: "Blessed be the most holy sacrament and the purity of our lady, the Virgin Mary, conceived without sin!" To this the Indians replied: "Forever!" Father Ayeta then dismounted and was warmly embraced by the Indians. Then, the hour for the Ave Maria having arrived, it was sounded with the trumpets and all repeated the prayer in unison. After this the Indians returned to their homes, apparently very contented.³⁷

Early the next morning, December 7, Otermín ordered the Indian governor and the captains whom he had appointed to have all the Indians in the pueblo assemble in the plaza. Father Ayeta had already sent for the portable altar, which was being brought from El Paso, mounted on a small four-wheeled cart, and in which mass was said and the rosary recited daily. This

35. *Auto of Xavier*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 8-9 (*infra*, II, pp. 207-209); *Repuesta de Ayeta*, in *ibid.*, f. 63 (*infra*, II, pp. 314-315).

36. *Auto of Otermín* in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 33 (*infra*, II, pp. 253-254); *Auto of Xavier* in *ibid.*, f. 9 (*infra*, II, p. 209); "declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *ibid.*, f. 22 (*infra*, II, p. 236).

37. *Auto of Xavier*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 9 (*infra*, II, p. 209).

altar was stationed in the middle of the plaza and the frontal and other altar things replaced. Then Father Ayeta put on the alb and the stole and addressed the assembled Indians. He did so through an interpreter because of the presence of so many representatives from other nations. He explained to them the grave character of their offenses which in so many ways they had committed, and exhorted them to return to the faith. After the sermon Father Ayeta absolved the apostates, observing all the ceremonials generally practiced by the church on such an occasion. After this, many who had never been baptized received this sacrament. Among them were the children that had been born since the Spaniards left. The first child to be baptized was given the name Charles, in honor of the king,³⁸ Father Ayeta performing the ceremony and Otermín himself standing as godfather. In all, five hundred and eleven persons were absolved and baptized.³⁹

Father Ayeta then ordered the married Indians to take back their lawful wives and families, and all alike—married men, widowers, and bachelors—were exhorted not to offend God any more. Otermín, reprimanding them for their immorality, exhorted them in the same manner. The Indians were then ordered to take out of their houses and from any other places whatsoever, the idols, feathers, powders, masks, and every other thing pertaining to their idolatry and superstition. This was done, and when all such things had been collected they were piled in a heap and burned. Formal possession of that region was then taken for the king, when, by order of Otermín, the secretary of government and war hoisted the royal standard over the pueblo. When the banner was unfurled to the breeze, the Spaniards cried out three times: "Long live the king, our Lord, Charles II, God save him!" Then, the Indians joining in, three loud vivas were given by all present; this was followed by a salute of three volleys and the sounding of the trumpets. As all the bells had been desecrated, two of them were consecrated

38. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 9-10 (*infra*, II, pp. 210-211).

39. *Auto* of Otermín, in *ibid.*, ff. 101-102. Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 188) erroneously states that there were 1,511 Indians who renewed their allegiance at Isleta at this time.

anew and were merrily rung as upon a gala occasion. After a short devotional service in honor of the eve of the Immaculate Conception, all the Indians returned to their homes, apparently very greatly pleased.⁴⁰

On December 8, the day of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady, all the people were assembled in the plaza around the portable altar. Here Father Ayeta consecrated a large pine cross which he and Otermín bore on their shoulders to the cemetery and placed in the same spot that had been occupied by the one destroyed by the apostates. After a volley ordered by Otermín, Father Ayeta delivered an oration and then said mass, after which he returned to the plaza and preached to the Indians. He again explained to them the divine commands and told them that they should give thanks to God for the many favors which He had bestowed upon them in leading them out of idolatry, in freeing them from the bonds of the devil, and in receiving them again into the Church. Otermín also regaled the Indians with another address, in which he told them of the great power of their king, of the obedience which they owed to him as vassals, and of the great amount of money he had spent for nearly a hundred years for the salvation of their souls, "occupying himself every day with this and similar efforts." After reassuring them of pardon in the king's name, Otermín left the Indians in good spirits.

That same day a Queres Indian of San Felipe named Pedro Naranjo, more than eighty years of age, and reputed to be a great necromancer and idolater who had come down from the northern pueblos to instruct in these arts, was made prisoner.⁴¹

As he did not receive a reply to the ultimatum sent two days before by the two Isleta emissaries to the Indians of Puaray, Alameda, and Sandia, and feeling the imperative need of ascertaining as soon as possible what action the Indians of the northern pueblos were taking in regard to the news that the Spaniards had returned to New Mexico, Otermín determined to send Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, with seventy picked men

40. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 9-10 (*infra*, II, pp. 210-211).

41. Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de naçion queres," in *ibid.*, f. 26 (*infra*, II, p. 249).

and some Indian troops, to reconnoiter the country above, find out if the inhabitants of the three pueblos mentioned had abandoned their homes or were in arms, and to ascertain the cause for their obstinacy in not having sent notice of their submission to the designated place. Some Indians from Isleta were also sent along to prove to the northern Indians that the inhabitants of that pueblo had not been killed or mistreated. Otermín found it impossible to accompany this expedition on account of his many duties at Isleta relative to providing supplies for the army, and because he was "occupied in the said pueblo in the arrangements which ought to be made for these Indians lately drawn from idolatry and among whom many idols and superstitious things have been found, it being essential that they know and believe in the things of the law of God." It was his purpose, however, to advance northward from Isleta as soon as possible.

Specific instructions were given to Mendoza by Otermín. He was to acknowledge in the king's name the obedience of the Indians in case it should be given; to take away their arms and fire their estufas—"refuges of the devil, and houses of idolatry, ravishment, and obscenity"; to find out if any Indians, fugitives for their crimes, had abandoned their pueblos, and in case that they had, to sack their homes and confiscate their cattle, whether their own or those of the Spaniards whom they had robbed in the revolt; to make investigations, take depositions, institute prosecutions, and at any cost do whatever seemed necessary until he had ascertained the full amount of property of the apostates, all of which he was to send at once to Otermín. The stolen property of the Spaniards that might be thus recovered was to be returned to the rightful owners, while the property of the Indians was to be made use of to supply the army and thus reduce expenditures. Having successfully carried out these instructions in the other Tigua pueblos, Mendoza was to proceed to enforce them in the pueblos of San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochití, and beyond. Otermín was to be advised fully of all his activities so that he might supervise the whole from his headquarters.

Having confidence in the military ability of Mendoza, Otermín empowered him with full authority to act in his place on

the expedition. The sargento mayor, Sebastián de Herrera, captain and commander of the presidio, was appointed as assistant to Mendoza who was instructed by Otermín to consult with him and the other corporals and brevets concerning the arduous affairs liable to arise on the expedition. Mendoza was given his commission with accompanying instructions, all bearing the signature and seal of the governor, and the counter-signature of the secretary of government and war. Before Mendoza left Isleta, a certified copy of the same was incorporated in the *autos*.⁴²

The instructions of Mendoza required that he should set out from Isleta that day. Late in the afternoon, all arrangements having been completed, he and his men began their northward journey, leaving with Otermín in Isleta the members of the cabildo, certain officials, and the rest of the force, "the most of whom were useless and in want." It is not purposed to relate the vicissitudes of that expedition at this time, but to dispose of the activities of Otermín in Isleta before he left that pueblo in the wake of the Mendoza party. The next morning, December 9, Otermín set about to secure some corn from the Isleta Indians, so that meal might be ground for the sustenance of the army. Having seized some of the natives, Otermín demanded of them a donation of corn. This demand was complied with, each Indian giving a sack of unshelled corn, all of which, when shelled, amounted to fifteen bushels. This was recorded as "a gracious gift which the Indians made," for which Otermín did not allow any harm to be done to them. The Indians told the governor that in most of the other pueblos only small quantities of corn had been raised, because, although their sorcerers performed many superstitious and idolatrous rites before their idols, they had had no rain and as a result serious drought prevailed. The governor, captains, and other Indians of the pueblo also told Otermín that the famine among the northern pueblos had been so great that many Indians had abandoned their pueblos, and that all the people of the jurisdictions of Tano, Tewa, and Queres and those of Acoma and Jemez, comprising

42. "Tanto de horden que Se le dio al Theniente Genl," in *Autos Pertene-cientes*, ff. 13-14 (*infra*, II, pp. 215-217); *Auto* of Xavier, in *ibid.*, f. 10 (*infra*, II, p. 212); *Auto* of Otermín, in *ibid.*, f. 33 (*infra*, II, pp. 254-255).

in all twenty-six pueblos, were in arms, and were planning to come to kill the Isleta Indians and sack their granaries. The date of this expected attack, they said, was December 12. For all of these reasons they stated that they regarded the Spaniards as having been sent by God to save them and their pueblo from destruction. Reports were made of many so-called idolatrous and superstitious dances having been practiced since the revolt, of the orders from the Indian chiefs that the men should abandon their wives secured through the Church and live with whatever ones they chose, and of the injunction that all should drop their baptismal names.⁴³

About eleven o'clock that night, Father Ayeta and Otermín still being awake, a soldier named Juan de Noriega García arrived at the *cuerpo de guardia* where they were. He had been dispatched by Mendoza with a letter to the governor,⁴⁴ and in addition brought with him some articles belonging to the church, including a bronze crucifix and an image of our Lady.⁴⁵ Otermín ordered that the letter from Mendoza should be placed with the *autos* and asked Father Ayeta to present him with the crucifix and the image in order that he might keep them as relics. Ayeta granted this request, he himself taking charge of the other things.⁴⁶

It had been the plan of Otermín to continue from Isleta with the wagons and his division of the army on Wednesday, December 10, arrangements for which had previously been made.⁴⁷ The morning of December 10 dawned very cold, and later in the morning, after camp had been broken and the wagons loaded, it began to sleet and storm so violently that it was necessary to abandon temporarily the departure from Isleta and to reestablish the camp. All that day it snowed and the storm continued

43. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 15 (*infra*, II, pp. 218-219); *Repuesta de Ayeta*, in *ibid.*, f. 63 (*infra*, II, p. 310).

44. This was without doubt the letter written by Mendoza on December 9 at Alameda, notwithstanding the fact that in this letter Mendoza stated that he was sending the articles mentioned in it by two friendly Mansos Indians.

45. The other articles were a chalice, a paten, and the "pedestal of a silver lamp without either small chains, bevel of the tube for the wick (*bisel de mechero*), or the upper cup (*copa de arriba*) but with only the lower base (*la basa de abajo*)."

46. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 15 (*infra*, II, pp. 221-222).

47. *Auto* of Xavier, in *ibid.*, f. 15 (*infra*, II, p. 218).

with unabated fury. About ten o'clock that night a strapping young Tigua Indian of Sandia reached Isleta. He said that he came alone, but in fact he was accompanied by another young Indian whom he left outside the pueblo as a sentinel. This Indian was taken before Otermín and Father Ayeta. They asked him for what purpose he had come and, "savagely and without fright or sign of misgiving," he replied that he had been sent by the Indians of Sandia, Alameda, and Puaray to say that all of their people—men, women, and children—were in the sierras, living without chiefs and under no control except their own free will; that they were hungry and wished to return to their pueblos. Otermín was surprised at the barbarous frankness of the Indian, and, receiving and treating him kindly, he admonished him and asked if he realized the grave character of the crimes which his people had committed. To this the Indian made no reply. Otermín then ordered him to return to his people and tell their old men and leading citizens, since they had no other captains and governors than the apostate chiefs, to come to see him and to confer with him. For their protection in case they should fall into the hands of the Mendoza party, as well as to inform Mendoza not to come to any final agreement with any of the apostates that might wish to surrender, Otermín wrote a letter to Mendoza and intrusted it to these Indians for delivery. This letter was given to the Indians on the morning of December 11 and soon afterwards they left Isleta for the north.

In the same letter Otermín told Mendoza that he believed the real purpose of the two Indians had been to spy upon his small force. This, he said, was weak enough, while each day the horses were showing greater signs of failing. For this, Otermín pointed out, there was no remedy, and therefore it was worthy of grave consideration. He told Mendoza that in spite of the bad weather his division was expecting to leave Isleta that day for Alameda. He reaffirmed his orders that Mendoza should take away the arms, both offensive and defensive, of the Indians who surrendered, that he should not allow them to take a thing from their homes until his arrival, that he should collect all the property of the Church and of the Spaniards which might be recovered, and that he should take away all the idols and foul things

which the Indians used in worshipping the devil in order that they might be burned. This letter, a copy of which was incorporated in the *autos*, was dated Thursday, December 11.⁴⁸ No mention is made of Mendoza having received this letter.

⁴⁸ *Auto* of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 15 (*infra*, II, pp. 222-223); "Carta de su Señoría," in *ibid.*, f. 18 (*infra*, II, 223-224).

XII. THE MENDOZA EXPEDITION FROM ISLETA TO THE TIGUA AND QUERES PUEBLOS

THE ADVANCE TO SANDIA

On the eighth day of December, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, the lieutenant general of cavalry, with sixty mounted Spaniards and a number of Indian allies on foot,¹ left Governor Otermín in the pueblo of Isleta and started on what was to prove a most remarkable expedition. Mendoza was first chief of the expedition, and Sargento Mayor Sebastián de Herrera, second in command, was leader of one of the squads.² At least five other squad leaders were appointed to serve on the expedition. These were Sargentos Mayores Don Fernando Durán y Chávez,³ Luis de Quintana,⁴ and Diego López Sambrano,⁵ and Captains Pedro Márquez,⁶ and Roque Madrid.⁷ It would thus appear that there were six squads of ten Spanish soldiers each, and that each of the above-mentioned men, not including Mendoza, was leader of a squad. The organization of the Indian allies is indeterminate.

It was about the hour for vespers when Mendoza and his men left on December 8. Notwithstanding the cold and the snow, the party advanced about four and one-half leagues⁸ that night, without stopping, until they reached Mendoza's own hacienda, situated three leagues below Alameda, in the jurisdiction known as Atrisco. A part of the night was passed there and some fires built in order that the soldiers might warm themselves after

1. *Auto of Otermín*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 33 (*infra*, II, p. 254); "declaracion del sarjento mayor, *san*, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 42 (*infra*, II, p. 268).

2. "Declaracion del sarjento, mayor *san*, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 41 (*infra*, II, p. 267).

3. "Declaracion de don ferndo de chaves," in *ibid.*, f. 45 (*infra*, II, p. 276).

4. "Declarasson del sarjento mor, luis de quintana," in *ibid.*, f. 49 (*infra*, II, p. 285).

5. "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *ibid.*, f. 52 (*infra*, II, p. 292).

6. "Declarasson del capn Po Marquez," in *ibid.*, f. 46 (*infra*, II, p. 279).

7. "(Declaración) del capn roque de Madrid," in *ibid.*, f. 47 (*infra*, II, p. 282).

8. *Auto of Xavier*, nos. 1 and 2, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 18 (*infra*, II, pp. 221-222).

their cold ride. Great care was taken to screen these fires from the view of any Indians who might be in that vicinity. After a reasonable delay the horses were mounted and the journey continued. Just as day was breaking on the morning of December 9, the pueblo of Alameda was reached. The Spaniards surrounded the place, intending to storm it, but no Indians were there to offer resistance.⁹ On their entering the pueblo the body of a crippled Indian who had hanged himself on account of having been abandoned by his people was found in one of the houses.¹⁰ In another house was a very old and blind Tewa woman. This woman,¹¹ who had been a servant in the houses of the Spaniards since girlhood, and of late a house servant of Doña Isabel Holguín, could speak Spanish fluently. When asked when and why the Indians of the pueblo had left, she began to weep and replied that they had left two days before (which was the day following the capture of Isleta), because, having heard that the Spaniards had captured Isleta and killed all of its inhabitants, they feared, "rogues that they were," that the invaders would come on to their pueblo and wreak vengeance on them for having practiced so much "knavery and idolatry."¹²

The news that the Spaniards had returned to New Mexico had been carried from Isleta by the two Puaray Indians who had escaped from the siege of the former pueblo on the morning of December 6. Quickly the report spread from pueblo to pueblo that the Spaniards had killed all the natives of Isleta, and had imprisoned all the Indians from the other pueblos who had gone there to get corn. As a result of this report, the natives of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia fled to the mountains, evidently the Sandia range, those of San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and

9. "Declaración del Teniente general de la Caballería," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 37 (*infra*, II, p. 258).

10. *Ibid.*; Mendoza to Otermín, in *ibid.*, f. 16 (*infra*, II, p. 219); Auto of Xavier, in *ibid.*, f. 19 (*infra*, II, p. 228).

11. According to the testimony of Diego López Sambrano, all four of the Indians found in the various pueblos through which the Spaniards passed were at least ninety years old. See: "(Declaración) de Diego Lopez," in *ibid.*, f. 52 (*infra*, II, p. 292).

12. Mendoza to Otermín, December 9, 1681, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 16 (*infra*, II, p. 219); "Declaración del Teniente general de la Caballería," in *ibid.*, f. 37 (*infra*, II, p. 258); "declaración del sargento, mayor suizo, herra," in *ibid.*, f. 41 (*infra*, II, p. 267).

Cochiti took refuge on the sierra of La Cieneguilla two leagues from Cochiti, those of Santa Ana, Sia, and Jemez assembled on a mesa near the last-named pueblo, while all the men from the above-mentioned pueblos and many from the other pueblos, except those of the province of Moqui, gathered on the sierra of La Cieneguilla.¹³

While talking to the Indian woman in Alameda, Mendoza learned that another very old Indian was outside the pueblo. Out of charity he sent for him. When questioned, the old man stated that he was from Sandia, and that his people had wickedly abandoned him to die in the open country. He did not know where the Indians had gone, but supposed that they had gone to the pueblos above. Mendoza placed both of the old Indians in a house, built them a fire, and provided them with water, meal, and firewood, of all of which there was a generous supply in the pueblo.¹⁴ Before leaving, the old couple were told that the reports of Spanish atrocities were false, and were instructed, in case any of the Alameda Indians should return to the pueblo, to tell them that the Spaniards had threatened, if they did not surrender peaceably and submit to the authority of the king, that not one stone of their pueblo would be left standing, and that as Otermín was advancing they should go out to meet him. The old woman informed Mendoza that when the natives left two days before they had all been crying. From this Mendoza surmized that the Alameda Indians would be willing to submit to the authority of the Spaniards, and he advised Otermín accordingly.¹⁵

While in Alameda, three smoke peace signals in the direction of Puaray were seen to rise on the hills near that pueblo. Mendoza replied with similar signals, whereupon a mounted Indian appeared on the hills and shouted to the Spaniards in his own language. The Spaniards, on going out to learn what he wanted,

13. "Declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *ibid.*, f. 22 (*infra*, II, p. 236); *Auto of Otermín*, in *ibid.*, f. 33 (*infra*, II, pp. 253-254).

14. "Declaracion del The genl de la Caualleria," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 37 (*infra*, II, pp. 258-259); Mendoza to Otermín, December 9, 1681, in *ibid.*, f. 16 (*infra*, II, p. 219).

15. "Declaracion del sarjento, mayor san, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 41 (*infra*, II, p. 267); Mendoza to Otermín, December 9, 1681, in *ibid.*, f. 16 (*infra*, II, pp. 219-220).

answered him in the same language and called upon him "to surrender meekly." The Indian replied that he was afraid to do so, and asked Mendoza, with four companions and Father Antonio Guerra, the chaplain of the expedition, to join him, which, says Mendoza, "obliged us to cross the river."¹⁶ Mendoza, according to Herrera, started to where the Indian was, accompanied by two squads of soldiers, whereupon the latter fled past Puaray toward Sandia. Later, his tracks were seen leading from the latter pueblo toward the north. On the way to Sandia this Indian continued to send up smoke signals, and soon after he entered the pueblo a great smoke was seen to arise. Mendoza sent to ascertain what it was that was burning and was informed that it was a corral. But the next day when they reached that pueblo they found that it was the chapel of San Antonio. Under this false presumption, Mendoza did not follow the mounted Indian to Sandia, but stopped in Puaray.

Davis¹⁷ states that as Mendoza "drew near the pueblo smoke was seen issuing from the chimneys, a sure sign that it was inhabited, but before he could prevent it the inhabitants had set fire to the houses and abandoned it." Such statements are without documentary foundation, for the inhabitants of Puaray, as we have seen, had fled from the pueblo two days before, while their houses had been left intact. The only smoke mentioned at this time was that sent up by the mounted Indian referred to above. When Mendoza and his men arrived at the deserted pueblo, they made a house to house search and found the lamp of Sandia, minus the small chains and upper cup; numerous ornaments taken from the houses of the Spaniards; two pieces of a so-called Turkish rug; and a great many "masks *de cache-ras*, in imitation of the devil, which are those that they use in their diabolical dances." All of the latter were collected and burned. The houses were found to contain corn, *frijol*, and salt.

16. That Alameda was on the west bank of the Río del Norte, some seven and a half or perhaps eight leagues above Isleta, and not on the east bank, as has been supposed, there is no room for doubt. For details, see Hackett, "The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia in 1680-81," in *Old Santa Fe*, II, pp. 381-391. To reach Puaray from Alameda, therefore, it was necessary to cross the river.

17. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, pp. 327-328.

Not far from the pueblo a cart loaded with wood had been abandoned by the apostates when they learned that the Spaniards had returned. Tracks indicated that four oxen had been unyoked from the wagon, and that these, with a small herd of cows and some sheep, had been driven toward Sandia. There was no sign to indicate where the Puaray Indians had gone¹⁸ after joining the Sandia Indians.

Taking the letter of Mendoza, written from Alameda on the day of the above-related occurrences, as the most reliable authority, Mendoza and his companions returned from Puaray to Alameda. There a search was instituted and in the house of the sacristan was found a chalice with its paten. This had been placed on a box, and on top of the chalice its paten, and on top of the paten a crucifix. These, according to the above-mentioned letter, together with a statue of the Virgin, which had been stolen from some Spaniard's home, were sent to Otermín by two Mansos Indians, Mendoza explaining that he did not dare spare any of his soldiers for this duty.¹⁹ Before they were dispatched to the governor, the Virgin was supplicated to favor and protect them and to lead the barbarians to the true knowledge of the holy Catholic faith. The church at the pueblo was found to have been totally destroyed by fire, but in different houses of the pueblo were found some articles belonging to it. Many other things, such as ploughshares, axes, adzes, and boxes were found. From this collection the things belonging to the church, including some small bells, two small boxes of holy oils, and some fragments of a sleeve cross were separated by order of Mendoza and buried to keep them from falling into the hands of the apostates.²⁰

18. Mendoza to Otermín, December 9, 1681, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 16 (*infra*, II, p. 220); "Declaración del The genl de la Caualleria," in *ibid.*, f. 37 (*infra*, II, pp. 259-260); "declaración del sarjento, mayor san, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 41 (*infra*, II, pp. 267-268).

19. Notwithstanding this statement it was, as seen in the preceding chapter, one of Mendoza's soldiers, Juan de Noriega García, who reached Otermín's camp with Mendoza's letter and the various articles mentioned in it.

20. Mendoza to Otermín, December 9, 1681, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 17 (*infra*, II, p. 220); "Declaración del The genl de la Caualleria," in *ibid.*, f. 37 (*infra*, II, pp. 259-260).

Some time before three o'clock in the afternoon on Tuesday, December 9, and before continuing from Alameda, Mendoza wrote a letter to Otermín. In this letter he informed the governor that Alameda was well stocked with corn, *frijol*, and native chickens, while in Puaray there were Castilian chickens. He reported that the meadows on either side of the river were fine, and that there was an abundance of wood on the opposite, or Puaray, side of the river. He informed Otermín that the wagons could proceed along the Alameda side of the river as easily as on the opposite, or east, side of the river. This would indicate that the usual route was on the latter side. He recommended to Otermín the district between Alameda and Puaray as a good place to establish camp, where the livestock could recuperate in good pastures thereabouts. In order that the provisions in the two pueblos might be made sure of, Mendoza suggested that ten men, which number he stated would be sufficient for the purpose, be sent ahead of the wagons to take possession of them. He stated that as soon as his letter was finished they were to proceed that day, Tuesday, December 9, at three o'clock, on their journey north, "all in good health and supplied by the grace of God with flour and some pinole."²¹

From the above it is presumed that the whole division proceeded to either Puaray or Sandia for the night. At any rate, on the morning of December 10, at the latter pueblo, which was reached by way of Puaray, Mendoza wrote a letter to Otermín stating that they were to proceed north from there at noon that day. When they arrived at Sandia they found the smouldering ruins of the chapel of San Antonio. Davis²² makes the erroneous statement that they found the chapel of San Antonio in good condition. This chapel, which had been left intact after the revolt, was judged to have been set on fire as the apostates were abandoning the pueblo, on receipt of the news of the coming of the Spaniards, or else by the mounted Indian who had fled from the Spaniards between Alameda and Puaray the day

²¹. Mendoza to Otermín, December 9, 1681, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 17 (*infra*, II, p. 220).

²². *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 328.

before. Of the monastery, which according to Vetancur²³ was a very beautiful one, only three cells had been spared, and these, judging from appearances, had been left by the Indians for the principal purpose of conducting their dances in them. In the largest of the three cells a sort of forge had been adjusted; a good bellows had been devised, and for an anvil a ploughshare had been utilized. All of these cells were employed as storerooms for masks, powdered herbs, feathers, and other things used by the Indians in their ceremonials and dances, particularly that of the *caçina*. Mendoza placed in safekeeping some of the articles found in the forge room, together with some things belonging to the church. Among the latter were four pieces of silver: a plate, a wine vessel, a diadem, and a censer; candlesticks; and some small bells. All of the large bells had been heated and then broken with stones. Two pieces of them were found in the cemetery. In the whole pueblo not a cross was found; on the other hand, new estufas had been built. The masks, powders, and other trifles were collected and burned.²⁴

In Sandia only one Indian was found, and he was blind from age. He stated, when questioned, that the Indians of the pueblo had fled to the mountains. He begged the services of a priest that he might confess and be absolved. Father Antonio Guerra granted this request, and Mendoza, before leaving, placed before him food, water, and firewood. He urged Father Ayeta and Otermín to exert themselves in behalf of the old man "so that his soul might not be lost." In the letter written to Otermín from this pueblo, Mendoza reported that all the people of Sandia, Puaray, and Alameda had taken their cattle and joined Alonso Catití at either Cochití or on the sierra of La Cieneguilla two leagues from the pueblo. He stated that there were at least two hundred fanegas of corn in Sandia, and that the meadows in that vicinity contained good grass. He again recommended a

23. *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* (1697 ed.), p. 99. According to the same authority the large church at Sandia was dedicated to San Francisco.

24. Mendoza to Otermín, December 10, 1681, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 29 (*infra*, II, pp. 225-226); "Declaración del The genl de la Caualleria," in *ibid.*, f. 37 (*infra*, II, pp. 259-260); "declaracion del sarjento, mayor san, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 41 (*infra*, II, p. 268).

place in the vicinity of "these three pueblos, almost in a triangle, two leagues across,"²⁵ as one suitable for the two divisions to unite until affairs were better settled. Prior to this Mendoza had received a letter from Otermín, evidently the one written from Isleta on December 11, for he stated that he was intrusting his letter to the same Indians who had brought to him the governor's letter.²⁶

THE ADVANCE FROM SANDIA TO SAN FELIPE

From Sandia the route of Mendoza led from the territory of the Tigua Indians to that of the Queres. The letter which Mendoza sent to Otermín from Sandia was written some time before noon on the morning of December 10.²⁷ Before it was finished the larger part of the force left Mendoza with an escort in the pueblo, and with Sebastián de Herrera leading the vanguard, proceeded on the way toward San Felipe. When about a league from Sandia three trails, over which it appeared a number of people, cattle, and horses had lately been, were noticed. These trails were evidently made by the Indians of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia, who, as we have seen, on receipt of the news of the coming of the Spaniards, first assembled on the sierra of Sandia, but later fled to join their northern allies at the sierra of La Cieneguilla.

One of these trails, all of which led from the sierra of Sandia, appeared to have been made the night before. According to the testimony of Herrera, they crossed the river in the direction of the mesa of Santa Ana; according to that of Diego López Sambrano, they led toward Cochití. The former witness stated that on discovering these trails he stationed a soldier at the place where the Spaniards crossed them, so that when the lieutenant general might arrive he would not be confused and take the wrong trail, and likewise that he might decide what action to take on the discovery of the trails. The latter witness stated that

²⁵. "Y estos tres dhos pueblos Casi en triangulo en distrito de dos leguas."

²⁶. Mendoza to Otermín, December 10, 1681, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 29-30 (*infra*, II, p. 226); "Declaración del The genl de la Caualleria," in *ibid.*, f. 37 (*infra*, II, pp. 259-260).

²⁷. Mendoza to Otermín, December 10, 1681, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 29 (*infra*, II, p. 226).

on noticing the trails he sent a soldier back to inform Mendoza of them and to ascertain whether or not he wished them to be followed, since they were very fresh. It is possible that Herrera and López referred to the same soldier, for Herrera was in the vanguard. This being the case, the soldier stationed by the latter for the purposes assigned might have been ordered back to see Mendoza when Diego López Sambrano came up. At any rate the main division continued its march until late in the afternoon without seeing any more trails or receiving any orders from Mendoza. After camp had been pitched for the night Mendoza and his escort, together with the soldier, or soldiers, mentioned by Herrera and López, arrived. No action was taken regarding the trails, however. From that camping place, evidently the next morning, December 11, the Spaniards proceeded in a body toward San Felipe. Before reaching it, a mounted Indian spy was seen on the top of a mesa near the pueblo. When the Spaniards approached him he fled in the direction of Cochití.²⁸

Arriving at the pueblo of San Felipe, only one Indian, a very old man by the name of Francisco, a smith by trade, was found. Being questioned in his own language concerning the whereabouts of the San Felipe Indians, he stated that they had fled to Cochití or to La Cieneguilla. Francisco, who was ill, asked to be confessed and absolved. This request was granted by Father Guerra. The old man lived only a few days after that, for when the Spaniards returned through San Felipe on December 17 he was found dead. A house to house search was made and many things belonging to the church were found.²⁹ In most of the houses a great many masks, such as were employed by the Indians in their ceremonies, were found. In the center of the plaza were piles of stones where the Indians performed their rites. Luis de Quintana and Diego López Sambrano are authorities for the statement that such stone heaps were found in the plazas of all six of the pueblos visited on the expedition, and that in the

28. "Declaracion del sarjento, mayor san, de herra," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 41 (*infra*, II, pp. 268-269); "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *ibid.*, f. 52 (*infra*, II, pp. 292-293).

29. Among these were a silver incensory, a *naveta*, small boxes of holy oils, and broken sleeve crosses.

environs of each pueblo other such piles, built to the four winds, were found—"all places of idolatry where the apostates offer to the devil the seeds and things which they possess." The church at San Felipe had been unroofed and the monastery torn down. In the cemetery a bell with a hole bored in it was found.³⁰

THE ADVANCE FROM SAN FELIPE TO SANTO DOMINGO

From San Felipe the Spaniards marched in a body to Santo Domingo. Though the date of their arrival there is not given, it was evidently the twelfth of December, or the day following their arrival and halt at San Felipe. There the church and monastery had been demolished. To one side of the pueblo was a pile of stones where the Indians were accustomed to "make their offerings to the devil." This pile of stones had been fenced in "with much veneration" in order to keep cattle out. New estufas had also been built, and portions of the pueblo fortified. On searching the houses of the pueblos many ornaments that had been taken from the church and from the houses of the Spaniards whom the Indians had killed and robbed were found. In the houses of Alonso Catití and Diego el Capattero, which were very close together, were found the majority of the things from the church and the writing desks of the monastery.³¹ Many masks and other "idolatrous" objects were also found.

THE ADVANCE FROM SANTO DOMINGO TO COCHITÍ

From Santo Domingo the Spaniards started on the morning of December 13 toward Cochití, a Queres pueblo ten leagues from the villa of Santa Fe.³² Many tracks of people, cattle, oxen, horses, and sheep were seen, leading toward the sierras of

30. "Declaración del The genl de la Cauallería," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 37-38 (*infra*, II, p. 260); "declaración del sarjento, mayor san, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 41 (*infra*, I, p. 269); "declaración del sarjento mor, luis de quintana," in *ibid.*, f. 49 (*infra*, II, p. 286); "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *ibid.*, f. 52 (*infra*, II, p. 292).

31. "Declaración del The genl de la Cauallería," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 38 (*infra*, II, p. 260); "declaración del sarjento, mayor san, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 41 (*infra*, II, p. 269).

32. On the way they found a sleeve cross lying on the ground and pieces of another one; a large copper kettle (*perol*); and a large pot (*olla*) of the same material.

Cochití. As soon as they came near Cochití, Mendoza sent a squad of soldiers, evidently under the command of Durán y Chávez, to the pueblo. While waiting for them to return, some Indians were seen on the tops of the hill about a league³³ from the pueblo. Mendoza said that as soon as he saw them he went in person with twelve soldiers to investigate. Herrera and Durán y Chávez stated that first a squad of soldiers was sent by Mendoza to reconnoiter the Indians on the hills and to ascertain if they had any horses or cattle in the valleys; that as soon as Mendoza saw that the members of this squad were discovered and were engaging in conversation with the Indians, he and Herrera mounted their horses and with several other Spaniards joined the scouting party. They left Pedro Márquez, Diego López Sambrano, and others to guard the horses, and found, according to various estimates, from one hundred to three hundred Indians, all greatly excited and making warlike demonstrations.

The Indians asked the Spaniards what they wanted, to which Mendoza replied that he had come to search for them in order that their souls might not be lost. The natives made light of this and called the Spaniards imposters and "bleating, horned he-goats,"³⁴ using at the same time many other insulting and high-sounding epithets. Herrera, realizing now the danger from these Indians, ordered a soldier to go back and advise all the other soldiers who had stayed to guard the horses, to arm themselves and be prepared to fight in case the Indians should begin the attack. After some parleying, Mendoza told the Indians that since it was late they would have to postpone further discussion until the next day; thereupon he and his men joined the other Spaniards. By this time the squad sent to reconnoiter the pueblo of Cochití had returned, and the Spaniards, again reunited, entered that pueblo to see what advantages it offered for camping there for the night.³⁵

33. According to Don Fernando Durán y Chávez, a quarter of a league.

34. "Unos cornudos cabrones llorones."

35. "Declaración del T^{ho} gen^l de la Caualleria," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 38 (*infra*, II, pp. 260-261); "declaración del sarjento, mayor s^{an}, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 42 (*infra*, II, pp. 269-270); "declaración de don fern^{do} de chaves," in *ibid.*, f. 45 (*infra*, II, p. 276); "declarass^{on} del capⁿ Po Marquez," in *ibid.*, f. 46 (*infra*, II,

The testimony of Captain Roque de Madrid and of Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana varies in some particulars from, and at the same time adds interesting details to, the above account. According to these men, as the Spaniards were approaching Cochití, two Indians were seen crossing over from a hill to the bed of the river in the direction of the *loma* of Santa Cruz. Mendoza then ordered Madrid to take his squad of soldiers, reconnoiter the movements of the Indians, and, in case he happened upon any horses or cattle, to take them and ascertain if there were any tracks of others there. On going to execute these orders, Madrid discovered from one hundred to one hundred and fifty Indians on a high hill, shouting and making hostile demonstrations. He thereupon ordered Joseph de Arbizu, the interpreter, to go and converse with them and find out what they might have to say.

While waiting for Arbizu to return, Madrid saw Mendoza, Herrera, Father Guerra, and others approach the Indians. The Indians then became more excited and made signs that they wanted to fight. Madrid and his soldiers then joined Mendoza and his party, which was confronted by a much larger force of Indians. In the meantime Mendoza had ordered Luis de Quintana, who had been in the vanguard, to have the main body of the Spanish force halt, and not to allow any of them to enter the pueblo of Cochití during his absence. Soon after this, however, Quintana received word from Madrid that the Indians were already beginning to fight, and a request from him to make the horses secure and come to their aid. On the way to help Madrid, Quintana met Sebastián de Herrera, who suggested that they go to the pueblo of Cochití and fortify it, since the Indians wanted to fight. Just at this time, however, Mendoza and the Spaniards who had been confronting the Indians, came up, and they all entered the pueblo.³⁶ Finding it well provisioned, the Spaniards pitched the camp in the principal plaza. Orders were

36. "(Declaración) del capⁿ Roque de Madrid," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 47 (*infra*, II, pp. 282-283); "declarass^{on} del sarjento mor, Luis de Quintana," in *ibid.*, f. 49 (*infra*, II, pp. 286-287).

p. 279); "(Declaración) de Diego Lopes," in *ibid.*, f. 52 (*infra*, II, p. 293); *Auto of Otermín*, in *ibid.*, f. 33 (*infra*, II, p. 254).

given to the soldiers not to leave the plaza, the horses were locked up and fed with corn, and sentinels placed around the pueblo for the night.³⁷

PARLEYS WITH THE INDIANS

The next day, December 14, Mendoza ordered the soldiers to arm themselves as though for actual hostilities, in order to go with him to confront the enemy, whether in the sierras or elsewhere. Fifty-six of the men seem to have been selected for actual duty, the others probably being designated to guard the horses. Before leaving Cochití, all the army, comprising both Spaniards and Indian allies, assembled and listened to a fervent address by the chaplain, Father Antonio Guerra, in which he urged them to "cleanse their hearts with contrition," after which, by the authority conceded to him by Father Ayeta, he absolved them all.³⁸

After this ceremony, the Spaniards left Cochití. When they had proceeded about a league from the pueblo, they discovered a junta of more than four hundred Indians on a hill cliff which served them as a fortress, where more apostates were arriving all the time. Diego López Sambrano stated that at one time more than a thousand Indians were assembled and that over one hundred of them were mounted. As soon as the Spaniards came up, the Indians formed a semi-circle and sent to ask them, in the Queres language, what they wanted. Davis³⁹ erroneously states that this occurrence took place on the second day following the arrival of Mendoza's force at Cochití. The evidence is clear that it occurred on the first day after their arrival there. Calling the Spaniards imposters, the Indians gave war-whoops and made other hostile demonstrations. Nevertheless, Mendoza; Father Guerra; Pedro de Arbizu, the Queres interpreter; and Pedro Márquez, the half-brother of Alonso Catití, advanced to within a short distance of the apostates, Quintana and other Spaniards being left to guard the horses.

37. "Declaración del T^{te} gen^l de la Cauallaria," in *ibid.*, f. 38 (*infra*, II, p. 261).

38. "Declaración del sarjento, mayor s^{an}, de herra," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 42 (*infra*, II, p. 270); "Declaración del T^{te} gen^l de la Caualleria," in *ibid.*, f. 38 (*infra*, II, p. 261).

39. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 330.

On approaching the Indians, Mendoza, in order to see if it were possible to pacify them and induce them to surrender, called out: "Be quiet, children, for his majesty has already pardoned you." He assured them that he had full authority to act in the king's name. He then called for the mestizo, Alonso Catití, one of the leaders of the revolt and Indian governor at that time of the Queres Indians. When Catití appeared and asked what Mendoza wanted, the latter replied that he had come to look for him and his people, and that he had brought with him the father chaplain. Catití then asked who the priest was, and when Mendoza told him that he was one of the priests from New Spain, Catití wanted to know why some of the priests who had already been in New Mexico had not returned. Mendoza, by way of reply, simply assured him that the Spaniards had not come to kill them, but rather "because your souls are lost." Catití replied that Mendoza was correct and stated that he was very greatly frightened on account of his sins. Thereupon Father Guerra said: "My son, do not let that stand in your way, for God is very merciful. You are a Christian; do not lose your soul, for I promise you by these consecrated hands and by the sacred orders which I have that as soon as you come down and surrender you will be pardoned."

Catití, however, was still skeptical and asked if Mendoza spoke truthfully before God, the Virgin, and in the name of the king. Mendoza at once replied: "By the Virgin, her precious Son, and in the name of the king, our lord, I will pardon you and all [the others] as soon as you come down and surrender; but, if you wish to fight, we will fight. But consider that you have to pay [in case you fight] with your women, your children, and your souls." Thereupon, Catití, weeping so violently that the whole camp heard him, replied: "I know that you are telling me the truth, but I know that I am already condemned, because my sins are very great." He added: "I am afraid and do not believe you, for they have told me here that you will carry me to Spain in order to punish me severely." At this Father Guerra and his other auditors, bathed in tears, again exhorted Catití to repent. But the Indians, among whom were people from

Taos, Picurís, Pecos, Acoma, and the Tewa, Tano, Jemez, Queres, and Tigua pueblos—in fact from every jurisdiction of the province except Moqui, distant one hundred leagues from there—suddenly began to yell and make further warlike demonstrations. Through the influence of Catití the Indians finally became quiet and formed a more compact group. Herrera then called to them three times: “Blessed be the most holy sacrament.” To this the apostates thrice replied and many of them shed tears.⁴⁰

Just at this time a number of Picurís and Queres Indians, led by a Picurís chief, laid down their arms and went down the hill to where Diego Lucero and several other Spaniards were and began to embrace them, and to relate the difficulties they had experienced since the Spaniards left. Herrera, on approaching the group, was warmly embraced also. When Mendoza saw this he thought that Lucero and his associates were negotiating peace pacts with the Indians. This angered him and he sent Sambrano to ask Diego Lucero by what authority he was making such terms and to order him to come down since he alone had authority to make peace with the Indians. When Sambrano approached Lucero and the group around him, other Indians, leaving their arms above, also came down the hill and joined them. At this one of these Indians, named Lorenzo, a brother of Don Luis, the Indian governor of Picurís and head chief of all the apostate nations, mounted a horse and hurried to where Alonso Catití was, evidently conversing with Mendoza. Having talked with him for a while, he returned to where Lucero was. Another Indian named Sonde, angered that Sambrano should have come up, called him a devil and told him to get away from there, for they were greatly frightened. Lucero also told Sambrano to leave. Before he did so, he heard Sonde ask Lucero if Xavier was coming there, to which Lucero replied that the latter had

40. “Declaracion del sarjento, mayor san, de herra,” in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 42-43 (*infra*, II, pp. 270-271); “declarasson del sarjento mor, luis de quintana,” in *ibid.*, f. 50 (*infra*, II, pp. 287-288); “(Declaración) de diego Lopes,” in *ibid.*, ff. 52-53 (*infra*, II, pp. 293-294); “Declaraon del The genl de la Caualleria,” in *ibid.*, f. 98 (*infra*, II, p. 261).

remained in Isleta. But Sonde was inquisitive and still wanted to know why he had not come.⁴¹

About this time Captain Pedro Márquez called to Alonso Catití, his half brother, and assured him that the Spaniards would do him no harm. Catití and other Indians then came down part of the way, and Mendoza, Márquez, Father Guerra, and other Spaniards went up to meet them, while the main body of the Indians prepared to flee. When the two parties met, the Spaniards and many of the Indians embraced. Among the latter were Catití and El Ollita, both of whom wept violently, while Catití kissed the feet of Father Guerra. Catití then asked for the love of God, the most Holy Virgin, and the saints that the Spaniards make peace with them. Accordingly, the Spaniards and many of the Indians, among whom were Catití and other chiefs, withdrew to a valley to discuss the affairs. As soon as the conversation was begun, Mendoza asked Catití if it would not be wise for the latter to send runners to Zuñi and Moqui, in order that the inhabitants of those pueblos might know of the peace arrangements and all come down. To this Catití replied: "Do not worry about that, for at a word from me they will all come."

Finally, Catití agreed to lead the natives of Cochití, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe back to their pueblos, and asked for one and a half days—Herrera and Durán y Chávez say two days—in which to do this. El Ollita and the other *principales* also agreed to the same. The Indians assured the Spaniards that they were acting in good faith in making peace with them and seemed to be highly pleased with the terms. According to Durán y Chávez, they even ordered or promised to send down some Indians to serve the Spaniards, and with a great show of pride said that they were going to erect arches to receive Father Ayeta. They stated that they had revolted on account of the persecution of Francisco Xavier, Luis de Quintana, and Diego López Sambrano. Vexed at this, Mendoza ordered all of the Spaniards as well as the apostates to assemble, and with Joseph de Arbizu and Diego Lucero acting as interpreters, asked the Indians to state

41. "Declaracion del sarjento, mayor san de herra," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 43 (*infra*, II, pp. 271-272); "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *ibid.*, f. 53 (*infra*, II, pp. 294-295).

with exactness the causes for their actions. They then stated that they had revolted from fear and because Francisco Xavier had burned their estufas for their having practiced withcraft in them. Out of revenge for this, they had burned the churches of the Spaniards. The Indians of the other nations then asked Mendoza to allow them to send news of the peace pacts to their jurisdictions. Accordingly, Mendoza sent such messages to Taos, Picurís, Sia, Santa Ana, Acoma, Pecos, and the Tewa, Tano, Jemez, and Queres pueblos. A Tano head captain, named by one of the rebels, and one Tigua and one Sia cacique remained with the Spaniards. The Indians were not required, as part of the peace pacts, to give up their arms, since they stated that they were in mortal fear of the Apaches in the mountains.⁴²

In the meantime, Diego López Sambrano had engaged in conversation with a Tano Indian who told him that he was a lieutenant of Don Luis, the head chief of all the rebels. This Indian stated that he was very well pleased with the peace pacts, and in the presence of López sent two runners to tell his people that they must be quiet, and replace the crosses in their pueblos, and that if the governor and Father Ayeta should come they should erect arches, as was the custom when they came and left for Mexico. This Indian declared that he had revolted through the influence of a Tewa Indian who "turned them all crazy," and who created general commotion. He stated that Popé made it generally known that his captain, the father of all the Indians since the flood,⁴³ had commissioned him to announce in all the pueblos that they should revolt and not leave a single religious or Spaniard alive in the whole province, after which they should return to the mode of living of their forefathers. Likewise they were instructed to collect many supplies and other necessities. With this mandate from Popé came a threat that any pueblo not

42. "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 53 (*infra*, II, pp. 295-295); "declaracion del sarjento mayor san, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 43 (*infra*, II, pp. 271-272); "declaracion de don fernando de chaves," in *ibid.*, f. 45 (*infra*, II, pp. 276-277); "Declaracion del The genl de la Caualleria," in *ibid.*, f. 38 (*infra*, II, pp. 261-263); "declarasson del Capn Po Marquez," in *ibid.*, f. 46 (*infra*, II, p. 280); "(Declaración) del Capn roque de Madrid," in *ibid.*, f. 47 (*infra*, II, pp. 282-283); "declarasson del sarjento mor, luis de quintana," in *ibid.*, f. 50 (*infra*, II, pp. 287-288); "Declaracion del The genl de la Caualleria," in *ibid.*, f. 39 (*infra*, II, p. 263).

43. "Desde que se anego el mundo."

obeying would be destroyed, because all the heathen nations who were coming and destroying the world were partners to the plan.⁴⁴

While these peace pacts were being arranged with Catití and the other Indian chiefs, four Indians, two of whom were servants of Francisco Xavier, went down to where Luis de Quintana, Juan Ruiz de Cassárez, the interpreter, and other Spaniards were guarding the horses. They loitered there a while, and were so glad to see Quintana that they shed tears of joy. One of these, a Tewa Indian of Tesuque, named Juan—a married man about twenty-eight years old and a former servant of Xavier—seemed very deeply affected. On seeing Quintana, who he asserted was as much his master as Xavier, and some of his companions eating a little parched corn, he asked if they had nothing more to eat than that. When answered in the negative, he asked the loan of a horse in order to go and get them some provisions. Quintana loaned him the horse, and as he was ready to mount, confidentially asked: "Juan, what do you think of these pacts?" He answered: "I do not know, but if I should learn anything I will flee and come to inform you." He then rode away and was not heard from for three or four days.⁴⁵

THE TREASON OF THE INDIANS

The Indians now withdrew and the Spaniards returned to Cochití, about a league below. From the preceding, as well as from later evidence, it is clear that the Spaniards regarded the peace pacts as "certain and fixed" and trusted the Indians to carry out their promise and return peaceably to their pueblos. Such, however, was not their plan; neither had they ever contemplated any such action except to deceive the Spaniards. Before the latter returned to New Mexico on this entrada, while there had been a difference of opinion among the Indians, the consensus had been that in case the Spaniards did return they

44. "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 53 (*infra*, II, pp. 295-296).

45. "Declarasson del sarjento mor, luis de quintana," in *ibid.*, f. 50 (*infra*, II, p. 288); "Declarasson del The genl de la Caualleria," in *ibid.*, f. 39 (*infra*, II, pp. 262-263); "declarasion de don ferndo de chaves, in *ibid.*, f. 45 (*infra*, II, p. 277); "declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *ibid.*, ff. 22-23 (*infra*, II, p. 237).

would resist them to their last man and not willingly allow the invaders to remain under any condition. In case the Spaniards returned and should be victorious, it was agreed that they should make a false treaty with them, take by surprise, and kill them under treason. Those who held to this plan included the *principales* of the pueblos and the chief aggressors in crimes. Others who were not so guilty contended that the Spaniards would surely return, and said that since they had done nothing bad they intended to stay in their pueblos. Later, when the Apaches harrassed the Pueblos, this party bitterly complained to their chiefs that when the Spaniards lived among them they were secure against Apache raids. However, in order to make all parties loyal to the apostate cause, the Indians were told that the demons in the estufa at Taos had declared that as soon as the Spaniards began making preparations to return to New Mexico they would advise the Indians, so that they might have time to assemble, and thereby eliminate all risks of being captured.

After the Indians had already deserted their pueblos and, by order of their chiefs, whom they feared greatly, had taken refuge in the mountains on account of the reports that the Isleta Indians had all been killed, they ascertained that such reports were not only false but that no Indian had even been harmed in Isleta. This news created much speculation and diversity of opinion among the apostates, before the Mendoza party reached the vicinity of La Cieneguilla, as to what could be the object of the Spaniards in returning. Some contended that since they were coming without doing injury to any one that perhaps they did desire peace; others who wanted to fight contended that the Spaniards were only planning to deceive them, and that once having got them in their power would kill them all. The leaders of this party were twenty-two Tewa chiefs and Catití, the influential Queres half-breed.⁴⁶

After the Spaniards arrived at La Cieneguilla and before the

46. *Parecer de Herrera* in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 68 (*infra*, II, p. 323); "declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *ibid.*, f. 22 (*infra*, II, pp. 235-236); "declaracion de Josephe Yndio Ladino—," in *ibid.*, f. 24 (*infra*, II, pp. 240-241); "declaracion (del Indio Lucas)," in *ibid.*, f. 26 (*infra*, II, p. 244); "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de nacion queres," in *ibid.*, f. 31 (*infra*, II, pp. 248-249); "declaracion de Juo lorenzo y Franco lorenzo herma," in *ibid.*, f. 32 (*infra*, II, pp. 251-252).

peace parleys were held, some Indians even then contended that it would be better to surrender peaceably than to make war on the invaders. But the younger element again opposed these plans under the leadership of Catití and the *coyote ladino* named Francisco, but generally called El Ollita. In his contentions in favor of war the latter stated that even if his own brothers should come fighting with the Spaniards he would kill them. His arguments were having telling effect when Don Luis Tupatú, the Indian governor of Picuris and the chief of all the rebels, arrived and took part in the conferences. When he learned that his brother Lorenzo had embraced Diego Lucero, he was very angry and declared his determination to kill him. To this his brother replied that it made no difference since God would aid him. Don Luis was even more angered at this and said: "Do not mention that man God here."

Just at this time word came to the junta from Catití that he had made false peace pacts with the invaders and that, under security of them, he had arranged a scheme to entrap the Spaniards.⁴⁷ This scheme was for the prettiest Indian girls to bathe, deck themselves in their gaudiest colors, and go down to Cochití under the pretext of making a meal for the Spaniards in celebration of the peace pacts just concluded. There they were to seize the opportunity of seducing the invaders and that night, while asleep with them, the Queres and Jemez warriors being in ambush nearby, were, at a prearranged signal from Catití, to attack the Spaniards with clubs, while the other Indians under Don Luis and El Ollita were to make away with the horses. By this concerted action it was hoped to wipe out the Spaniards at one blow.⁴⁸ When Don Luis heard these plans, he gave his hearty

47. "Declaracion de Josephe Yndio Ladino—," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 24-25 (*infra*, II, p. 241); "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *ibid.*, f. 54 (*infra*, II, pp. 295-296). According to the Indian Juan—*ibid.*, f. 23 (*infra*, II, pp. 237-238)—Don Luis did not arrive at the Indian junta until after the truce had been agreed upon. Juan says that when Don Luis heard this he said: "You have done well."

48. "Declaracion de Juo lorenzo y franco lorenzo hermanos," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 32 (*infra*, II, p. 252); "declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *ibid.*, f. 23 (*infra*, II, pp. 233-234); "declaracion de Josephe Yndio Ladino—," in *ibid.*, f. 25 (*infra*, II, p. 241); "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *ibid.*, f. 54 (*infra*, II, pp. 296-297); "declaracion del sarjento mayor, san, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 43 (*infra*, II, pp. 272-273); "declarasson del capn Po Marquez," in *ibid.*, f. 46 (*infra*, II, p. 280);

approval. At the same time he sent runners all over the province to order all of the Indians under pain of death to come to his aid. Urgent messages were also sent to Popé to come and help repel the Spaniards.⁴⁹

While these plans were being arranged, other Indians went down from time to time to Cochití to announce to the Spaniards that the natives were already on their way to their pueblos. After making these announcements, they at once disappeared. It was doubtless from such Indians that the reports reached the Spaniards at Cochití that Don Luis had talked of going with twenty of his men to visit Otermín even if he had to go to El Paso, and that El Ollita had stated that his reason for remaining among the apostates had been that he feared the Spaniards would kill his wife and children.⁵⁰

THE DELAY OF THE SPANIARDS IN COCHITÍ AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE TREASON

Unaware of treason on the part of the Indians, Mendoza at Cochití on the day following the conclusion of the peace pacts with the Indians, December 15, dispatched the Tano captain who had remained over night with the Spaniards and a Tano domestic employed in the Spanish service to the Indian camp. In due time they returned with the captains of six pueblos—evidently, Alameda, Puaray, Sandia, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochití, who conferred further with Mendoza. He told these chiefs that his arrangements could not be taken as final since Otermín was already on the way there. The Tigua Indians and the Queres Indians of Sia then asked for letters to their caciques announcing the news of the peace pacts. Mendoza addressed the letters as requested and then made a talk to his visitors in which he congratulated them on their stand for peace, not only for the good of their souls but for the safety of their

49. "Declaracion del sarjento, mayor san, de herra," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 44 (*infra*, II, p. 274).

50. "Declarasson del capn Po Marquez," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 46 (*infra*, II, p. 280); "declarasion de don ferndo de chaves," in *ibid.*, f. 45 (*infra*, II, p. 277).

"Declaración) del capn Roque de Madrid," in *ibid.*, ff. 47-48 (*infra*, II, p. 283); "declarasson del sarjento mor, luis de quintana," in *ibid.*, f. 50 (*infra*, II, pp. 288-289).

women and children. He then ordered them to replace the crosses in their houses and those that had been broken on the road, to all of which the Indians agreed.⁵¹

Late the next day, December 16, the Indians of Sia replied to the letter from Mendoza by sending El Pupiste (or Cupiste), the governor of Santa Ana, to see Mendoza. He came into the Spanish camp with a cross hung around his neck and announced that his people in the sierras of Los Jemez had received a letter from the lieutenant general in which peace terms were offered them. Since his people were suffering from the snow and cold of the winter and wanted to return to their pueblos, he had come to find out if the letter was authentic. In case it was true he stated that he was ready to announce, on behalf of the Indians of Sia and Santa Ana, that all the inhabitants of these two pueblos were waiting to acknowledge their obedience to the two majesties. Mendoza assured him that the letter was authentic and told him to return to his people and have them erect arches in their pueblos for his reception, since he himself was going to visit them soon. To all Pupiste agreed just as Catití had done. The next day he left the Spanish camp. At the same time the Tigua Indian who had asked for a letter to his people left, promising to conduct the inhabitants to Sandia, Puaray, and Alameda to meet the governor.⁵²

From what has been said it seems evident that the Spaniards had all this time been totally deceived by the Indians. But as the time asked for by the latter in which to lead their people back to their pueblos lengthened and no sign was seen of them, gradually the confidence of the Spaniards was shaken. A series of incidents tended to prove to them that not only had the apostates treacherously deceived them, but that there was danger from their own Indian allies. Mendoza had given strict instructions that no powder was to be given to the apostates, which they often requested, after the conclusion of the peace pacts, under the pretext of wanting to kill deer in the mountains. Neverthe-

51. "Declaración del The genl de la Caualleria," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 38-39 (*infra*, II, pp. 262-263).

52. "Declaración del The genl de la Caualleria," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 38-39 (*infra*, II, p. 263); "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *ibid.*, f. 54 (*infra*, II, p. 296); "declaración de don fernando de chaves," in *ibid.*, f. 45 (*infra*, II, p. 277).

less, he learned with no small apprehension that a half-breed in his army named Domingo Luján had given some powder to his brother, El Ollita, and had even revealed to the apostates where a large supply was kept. An investigation was held and Luján was ordered to confess fully the extent of his guilt on pain of being garroted as a traitor to the king if caught in a lie. Luján denied having given more than enough for one gun load, and the investigation and examination of witnesses failed to convict him of further guilt. What was done to Luján is not stated, but a more stringent watch over the Indians was instituted.⁵³

After supposedly friendly relations had been established with the Indians, two young Spaniards, Joseph de Madrid and Alonso García, being sorely in need of some leather jackets, secured some by trading several worn-out horses to the Indians for them, apparently exchanging one such horse for two or three jackets.⁵⁴ As a result of this trade, several of the Indians came to ask some of their Spanish acquaintances to loan them as many as four or five horses under the pretext of wanting to go to their pueblos to advise their friends, and to bring the Spaniards some refreshments. The horses were loaned, but nothing more was seen of either the horses or Indians.⁵⁵

More significant still was the visit to the Spanish camp at Cochití during the period of waiting for the Indians, of Josephe, a former servant of Sebastián de Herrera, who brought with him anything but cheering news for the Spaniards. This Indian, who was about thirty years old, had followed the Spaniards to El Paso the year before. Because of experiencing hunger at La Toma, one of his companions named Domingo urged Josephe to flee with him to New Mexico. At first he refused, but after a while, in order to acquaint himself, as he stated, with conditions in New Mexico, so that he might inform the Spaniards, he accompanied Domingo on what was meant by them to be merely

53. "Declaración del The genl de la Caualleria," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 39 (*infra*, II, pp. 263-264).

54. "Declaración del The genl de la Caualleria," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 40 (*infra*, II, p. 265); "declaracion del sarjento, mayor s^{na}, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 43 (*infra*, II, p. 273).

55. "Declaracion del sarjento, mayor s^{na}, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 43 (*infra*, II, p. 273).

a visit. Upon arriving in the Pueblo country, Domingo was remembered to have been seen fighting with the Spaniards at the siege of Santa Fe, and for this reason was killed by the Indians. After the death of his companion, Josephe remained with the apostates. But when the Spaniards returned and he learned that the agreements which the Indians had made were treasonous, "moved by good zeal" and out of compassion for his former master, he determined to inform him of the Indian plans. Accordingly, he went down to Cochití and warned Herrera to guard the horses, since the Indians had not made their pacts with any other purpose than to deceive the Spaniards. Having thus warned Herrera to be on guard, he went off, promising to come the next day and tell him what he might learn in the meantime. This was the first direct information concerning the perfidy of the Indians. As a result of this information, the horses were locked up in the pueblo, and the Spaniards henceforth kept a sharp lookout for Indian treachery.⁵⁶ The date of this incident has not been determined.

As already stated, on the morning of December 17, El Pupiste, the Indian governor of Santa Ana who had remained over night in the Spanish camp, left Cochití. Just after he had gone, a young Indian mulatto about eighteen years old named Francisco Lorenzo arrived at the pueblo—a fugitive from the camp of the enemy. He was the younger of two brothers, natives of San Felipe, the other, aged twenty, having joined the Spaniards three days earlier. Francisco announced to Mendoza that the peace terms agreed to by the Indians had not been made in good faith, but that under the security afforded by them the Indians had planned to seize an opportunity of killing the Spaniards. He said that he had been a personal witness to the arrival at the Indian junta of Don Luis, the governor of all the rebels, and that he had overheard all the plans made. He also told in detail of the preparations that had been made by the Indian girls to go to Cochití to entrap the Spaniards. This plan, he stated, had been abandoned on account of the Indians having

56. "Declaracion del sarjento, mayor san, de herra," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 43-44 (*infra*, II, pp. 272-274); "declaracion de Josephe Yndio Ladino—," in *ibid.*, ff. 22-25 (*infra*, II, pp. 238-242).

seen what they supposed to be some reënforcements enter Cochití for the Spaniards. Other evidence indicated that it had been abandoned because the Indians were afraid that some of their number who had gone to Cochití had betrayed the plan to the Spaniards.⁵⁷

THE RETREAT FROM COCHITÍ

Upon receipt of the news from Francisco Lorenzo that the Indians had not made peace in good faith, and because one day more than the allotted time for them to return to their pueblos had passed, Mendoza ordered the soldiers to make ready to return to the plaza de armas of Otermín's division so that he might report to him what had occurred on the expedition. Cochití was left behind that day, and observing strict military discipline the Spaniards retreated six leagues before pitching camp a league and a half below San Felipe and four leagues above Sandia. That night at midnight Sebastián de Herrera went to Mendoza and announced that Juan, the former servant of Xavier to whom Quintana had loaned a horse on the day of the consummation of the supposed peace pacts with the Indians, and Josephe, his own servant who had warned him in Cochití to guard the horses well, had just arrived at the camp—Juan having come there on the horse which Quintana had loaned him.

According to Juan's own statement, while among the apostates, after having borrowed the horse from Quintana, he saw that the Indians were sending spies to reconnoiter the Spanish camp and learned that they were planning to attack it in case of any lack of vigilance on the part of the Spaniards. Because of his promise to Quintana and Cassárez to inform them in case of treason among the Indians, he offered to accompany these spies in order to keep himself informed of the plans. After the abandonment of the plan to send the Indian girls to Cochití and after the Spaniards had left that pueblo, Juan accompanied Don Luis with one hundred Picurís and some Queres warriors as far as San Felipe. There he learned that Catití had been asked

57. "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 54 (*infra*, II, pp. 296-297); "declaracion de Juo lorenzo y franco lorenzo hermas," in *ibid.*, f. 32 (*infra*, II, p. 252); "declaracion del sarjento, mayor san, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 43 (*infra*, II, pp. 272-273).

for reënforcements and that Don Luis was planning to attack the Spaniards at night when least expected, kill them, and make off with their horses. In Don Luis' party at the same time was Josephe, the former servant of Herrera who had warned him in Cochití to guard the horses.

Together, these two Indians now made their way to the Spanish camp a league and a half below. Entering it they cried out to Herrera: "To arms! Mount your horses at once, for Don Luis and all his people are already coming to surround and attack you. We came [with them] as spies, but we left them and now we come to put you on your guard." They then told their story to Mendoza and the other Spaniards. When Mendoza had heard it he was in favor of going back to San Felipe at once in order to ascertain if the report were true and if so to surprise the Indians by attacking them first. Herrera and the other war chiefs were opposed to this plan, however, and it was not carried out. Nevertheless, the Spaniards remained on guard the rest of the night with their arms in their hands. The next morning they ascertained that the reports of the two Indians were true, and that the reason the plot had not been carried out was that the Indians had learned that the Spaniards had been advised.⁵⁸

On the eighteenth of December, the retreat was continued by way of Sandía, which they found burning and from where they saw that Alameda and Puaray had also been burned. Although smokes had been seen before their arrival at Sandía—Don Fernando Durán y Chávez stated that smokes were seen in the direction of the Tigua pueblos before Cochití was abandoned, but the other evidence tends to prove that such smokes were not seen until on the retreat, between Cochití and Sandía—not until they reached the latter pueblo did they know what caused them, although they judged that the fires had been set

58. "Declaracion de don ferndo de chaves," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 45 (*infra*, II, p. 278); "declaracion del sarjento, mayor san, de herra," in *ibid.*, ff. 43-44 (*infra*, II, pp. 272-274); "(Declaración) del capn roque de Madrid," in *ibid.*, ff. 47-48 (*infra*, II, p. 283); "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *ibid.*, f. 54 (*infra*, II, pp. 279, 298); "declaracion del The genl de la Caualleria," in *ibid.*, ff. 39-40 (*infra*, II, pp. 264-265); "declarasson del sargento mor, luis de quintana," in *ibid.*, ff. 50-51 (*infra*, II, pp. 288-289); "declarasson del capn Po Marquez," in *ibid.*, f. 47 (*infra*, II, p. 280); "declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *ibid.*, ff. 21-23 (*infra*, II, p. 237).

by Otermín.⁵⁹ About sundown on the evening of December 18, Mendoza's force reached Otermín's camp, which by this time had been moved up from Isleta and was established two leagues below Sandia, one league below Puaray, and within sight of all three pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia.⁶⁰

On the expedition just completed, none of the six pueblos visited by Mendoza were burned by him. His avowed reason for this was that he had not wanted to antagonize the other nations. From the pueblos on both the going and the return trips such supplies as were needed for the use of the men and horses were taken. These supplies consisted of at least chickens, corn, *frijol*, and beans (*abes*), the entire supply of the latter being consumed. The bulk of the property of the Indians was left undisturbed. Like the pueblos, the estufas were also left intact. But, although a great many masks and other ceremonial objects used by the Indians were collected and burned, all of such were not, as Quintana and others reported, for we know that Otermín, on visiting the pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia, found and burned numerous such objects at the time of his destruction of those three pueblos.⁶¹ Finally, from the standpoint of Otermín's instructions, the Mendoza expedition had accomplished little; from the standpoint of the information acquired as a direct result of the expedition, its importance, because of its bearing upon the outcome of the expedition as a whole, can hardly be overestimated.

59. "Declaración del The genl de la Caualleria," in *ibid.*, f. 40 (*infra*, II, p. 265); "declaracion del sarjento, mayor san, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 44 (*infra*, II, pp. 273-274); "declaracion de don ferndo de chaves," in *ibid.*, f. 45 (*infra*, II, pp. 277-278); "declarasson del capn Po Marquez, in *ibid.*, f. 47 (*infra*, II, pp. 280-281); "Declaración del capn roque de Madrid," in *ibid.*, f. 48 (*infra*, II, pp. 283-284).

60. *Auto of Xavier in Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 19, 20 (*infra*, II, pp. 230, 231-232); *Auto of Otermín*, in *ibid.*, f. 48 (*infra*, II, pp. 284-285).

61. "Declaración del The genl de la Caualleria," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 39-40 (*infra*, II, pp. 263, 265-266); "declaracion del sarjento, mayor san, de herra," in *ibid.*, ff. 43-44 (*infra*, II, p. 272); "declaracion de don ferndo de chaves," in *ibid.*, ff. 45-46 (*infra*, II, p. 278); "declarasson del capn Po marquez," in *ibid.*, f. 47 (*infra*, II, p. 281); "(Declaración) del capn roque de Madrid," in *ibid.*, f. 48 (*infra*, II, pp. 282-284); "declarasson del sarjento mor, luis de quintana," in *ibid.*, ff. 49-51 (*infra*, II, pp. 286-291); "(Declaración) de diego Lopes," in *ibid.*, ff. 52, 54-56 (*infra*, II, pp. 292, 297, 301-302); *Autos of Xavier*, in *ibid.*, ff. 19-20 (*infra*, II, pp. 228-231).

XIII. THE ADVANCE OF OTERMIN'S DIVISION FROM ISLETA, DECEMBER 11-18

When last heard of on December 11, Governor Otermín, Francisco Xavier, Father Ayeta, and all the Spaniards who had not accompanied Mendoza were in Isleta with the wagons, awaiting a favorable change of the weather to proceed northward. That same day, conditions becoming favorable, Otermín and his followers left Isleta. When they had gone about a league and a half from the pueblo, the axle and *tijera* of the small cart bearing Father Ayeta's portable altar broke. This necessitated a halt for the rest of the day while it was being repaired. During the night a severe wind- and snowstorm swept down the valley, and the morning of December 12 dawned very cold. The wagon was repaired by eight o'clock in the morning, but the cold was so severe that the Spaniards found it impossible to remain long away from the fire. Under such conditions and out of consideration for the tired horses, Otermín decided to remain in that place until the weather was more suitable for traveling. It became more severe, however, as the day progressed, and on account of the scarcity of firewood the Spaniards experienced much discomfort. About three o'clock in the afternoon two Indians arrived at the camp with the letter which Mendoza had written to the governor from Sandia on the afternoon of December 10, mention of which has already been made. Night came on very cold, with the wind and snow unabated.¹

The morning of December 13 dawned exceedingly cold, with a severe hail- and snowstorm raging. Notwithstanding the unfavorable weather, Otermín's division marched three more leagues to the estancia of Juan Domínguez de Mendoza. Throughout that district the estancias of the Spaniards had been deserted and burned, and their cultivated fields, which had been appropriated by the Indians after the revolt, contained only

1. *Auto of Xavier*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 18 (*infra*, II, p. 224).

cornstalks from which the apostates had gathered the grain. Along the march to this estancia, great diligence was employed, due to the fact that the night before three Piros families who had been among those captured and absolved at Isleta had fled as a result of having heard that the apostates, confederated with the Apaches, had united on two sierras for the purpose of attacking the Spaniards. It was reported that these Indians were planning to take advantage of the severe winter weather and make a vigorous assault upon the horses. Davis's² statement that the Indians attacked the horses one night but were repulsed by the Spanish soldiers is without documentary foundation. By depriving the Spaniards of this all-important asset, it was believed, in view of their small force, that they might easily put an end to them all. As a result of this report, efforts were made to keep the other Indians quiet. The night of December 13 was passed at the estancia with the cold unabated.³

The next day, in the face of a painfully cold snowstorm, the Spaniards continued their march toward Alameda, three leagues farther on. After camp had been broken, Otermín took ten soldiers and went on in advance of the main party, which remained with the wagons, in order to reconnoiter the seventeen Spanish estancias on either bank of the river between that of Juan Domínguez and the pueblo of Alameda. He found that all of them had been burned, and that many of the cultivated fields of the Spaniards were full of cornstalks, the Indians having planted and harvested a crop. Otermín fully expected to find Alameda inhabited, in virtue of having received on December 10, while yet in Isleta, a message from the Indians of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia, stating that they wished to return to their homes, as well as in response to his order that the old men and *principales* of these pueblos should come to see him. Such was not the case when he entered the pueblo, for with the exception of the old man and the old woman whom Mendoza had found there five days before, the place was entirely deserted. A search was made and in one of the houses were found the remains of the crippled suicide. In the estufa were found many

2. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, pp. 322-323.

3. *Auto of Xavier*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 18-19 (*infra*, II, p. 227).

"idols, masks, figures of the devil, herbs, feathers," and other things, all of which were burned. The church and the monastery had been totally demolished by fire. Throughout the pueblo a quantity of corn and *frijol* was found.

Late in the evening the remainder of the army arrived, drenched and suffering from cold. About the time for vespers, Otermín and Father Ayeta decided to burn the *estufa*. Entering it and crying out: "Blessed be the most holy sacrament," they applied the fire to it with their own hands. The *estufa* burned all night until it was totally destroyed. The same night Otermín announced that the next day there should be stored in the wagons for the sustenance of the people as much *frijol* and corn as possible. All the corn that could not be so disposed of, after having saved out what was necessary for the horses, was to be scattered in the various houses of the pueblo and then set afire so that the entire pueblo might be totally destroyed. On the morning of December 15, Otermín and Father Ayeta arose at daybreak and assembled the soldiers to carry out these plans. Father Ayeta employed himself in collecting and cleaning the *frijol*, while Otermín personally supervised the removal of the grain, and with his own hands set fire to the houses and granaries of the pueblo. In this work of destruction the soldiers gave ready assistance until "all was consumed." No mention whatever is made of the fate of the two old Indians found in the pueblo. The entire day was thus passed at the pueblo and in awaiting the return of Mendoza and his men who were momentarily expected. No news was heard from them, however, and the night was passed there.⁴

While the Spaniards were at the pueblo of Alameda, a young Indian named Juan de la Cruz, a native of Isleta versed in the Spanish language, arrived at the pueblo. This Indian, in whom Otermín placed much confidence, had been instructed by the governor to stay in Isleta and in case of any trouble there to notify him at once. On arriving at Alameda, Juan told Otermín that he had come to ask protection for the Isleta Indians, stating that the night before a troop of mounted Indians had sur-

4. Auto of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 19 (*infra*, II, pp. 228-229).

rounded that pueblo. On account of the absence of Mendoza with the majority of the soldiers, arms, and horses Otermín felt that it would not be wise to divide his forces further. But he sent word by Juan to the Isleta Indians advising them what to do until Mendoza should return. At the same time he sent the lieutenant of the Piros nation to Isleta with Juan.⁵

The morning of December 16 dawned with the fields and mountains completely covered with snow, and more falling. Otermín was suffering from an affection of the eyes and head caused by the offensive smokes created by the burning of the estufa and pueblo, in which he had taken the leading part. Notwithstanding his indisposition and the severity of the weather, however, Otermín, after a consultation with Father Ayeta and the different war chiefs, decided to ford the river. There was no known ford at that place, nor within a number of leagues of it, but because of the danger of the river freezing and blocking with ice over night, as it was accustomed to do, thereby making it impossible to cross and continue the journey for some time, this drastic measure was agreed upon. In crossing the river the small cart bearing the portable altar, and one of the wagons, were stuck in the mud and extricated only after considerable difficulty.

By the time the crossing had been completed the weather was fair. But Otermín decided not to push on, and camp was pitched at that place, one league from the pueblo of Puaray, two leagues from Sandia, and within sight of all three pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia.⁶ As we shall see, the camp was not to be moved from there until December 21.⁷

Leaving the camp, Otermín took a squad of soldiers and visited the pueblo of Puaray. From the trails leading down from the mountains to the pueblo, it appeared that the apostates had been going back and forth on horseback for supplies. Upon entering the pueblo, two new estufas were found in which were

5. "Declaracion de Juo—," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 71 (*infra*, II, pp. 328-329); *Auto* of Otermín, in *ibid.*, f. 84 (*infra*, II, pp. 337-338); *Parecer* de Luis Granillo in *ibid.*, f. 67 (*infra*, II, p. 322).

6. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 19-20 (*infra*, II, pp. 229-230, 231).

7. *Auto* of Otermín in *ibid.*, f. 48 (*infra*, II, pp. 229-230).

"many idols, masks, and instruments of idolatrous dances." To these Otermín himself set fire. A thorough search was made of the pueblo and some *frijol* taken out, after which fire was applied to all the houses and "everything in the way of supplies totally destroyed." In this task Otermín and his men were employed until after sundown, after which they returned to the camp a league away.⁸

The next day, December 17, the weather was fair and Otermín gave orders for twenty soldiers and one squad of Indians to accompany him to Sandia, two leagues away. There he found that the church and monastery had been practically destroyed by fire. In the search through the pueblo two bells, broken into five pieces, a tray *de patenta*, a wine vessel for mass, a censer, and a small broken diadem were found. One of the trophies of the apostates found in one of the houses was a board on which had been painted an image of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady with a dragon at her feet. The eyes and mouth of the former had been knocked out and the body hit with stones, while the drawing of the dragon showed no signs of ill treatment. At the same time some fragments of ornaments and things of the service of the monastery were found. Otermín ordered that all of these should be taken to Father Ayeta, who, on account of indisposition from exposure to so much bad weather, had remained at the camp. A good supply of corn, *frijol*, and *trastes de servicio* of the apostates was also found. In the pueblo were two estufas in which were other figures with horrible expressions, and other "idolatrous" things. Fire was applied throughout the pueblo after some corn and *frijol* had been taken out, and the entire pueblo, estufas, and all the rest of the grain, seeds, and other property of the Indians was destroyed. Practically the entire day was spent in this work, Otermín and his associates not reaching camp until about the time for evening prayers.

The next day, December 18, the weather was settled, though it was still very cold with a north wind blowing. Instead of continuing the march from that place, Otermín decided to send a squad of picked soldiers to scour the surrounding country and

8. *Auto* of Xavier, in *ibid.*, ff. 19-20 (*infra*, II, p. 230).

attempt to capture by fair means or foul some Indian or Indians. The rest of the soldiers and the horses were to be allowed to rest, while a sharp lookout was to be kept for smoke signals from Mendoza's party. That night at sundown Mendoza and all his force joined Otermín's division. With them they brought three Indian men, Juan, Josephe, and Lucas, and two young mulattoes, Juan and Francisco Lorenzo, who had willingly joined the Spanish party.⁹

9. *Auto of Xavier*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 20 (*infra*, II, pp. 230-232).

XIV. EVENTS AT THE PLAZA DE ARMAS, DECEMBER 18-27

EXAMINATION OF THE INDIAN PRISONERS

No sooner had Mendoza returned to the plaza de armas with five Indian prisoners, than Otermín, in continuation of his fixed policy to secure all the evidence and data possible concerning the causes for the apostasy and rebellion of the Indians, as well as to ascertain, as best he might, what were the actual conditions confronting him, began at once arrangements for submitting the Indian prisoners to a legal examination. Juan Lucero de Godoy and Juan Ruiz de Casares were duly sworn as Tewa interpreters,¹ and, as *testigos acompañados* to the prisoners, Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva; Sargentos Mayores Nicolás Rodríguez Rey, Sebastián de Herrera, and Luis Granillo; Alférez Juan de Luna y Padilla; and Juan de Noriega, a soldier, were appointed. Present and assisting Otermín were Father Ayeta and his secretary, Father Nicolás López, who absolved the Indians so that they might give sworn testimony.²

The first prisoner to be examined was the Tesuque Indian, Juan, who had joined the Mendoza party a short distance below San Felipe. His testimony under oath was recorded the same night that Mendoza arrived at the plaza de armas.³ The next day, December 19, the first Indian to be sworn and examined was Josephe, the former servant of Sebastián de Herrera who had joined the Spaniards at the same time as Juan.⁴ After his testimony had been recorded, Raphael Téllez Xirón was appointed Piros interpreter⁵ in order that the testimony of Lucas,

1. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 20-21 (*infra*, II, pp. 231-232).

2. "Declaracion (del Indio Juan)," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 21 (*infra*, II, p. 233).

3. *Ibid.*, ff. 21-23 (*infra*, II, pp. 233-237).

4. "Declaracion de Josephe Yndio Ladino," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 23-25 (*infra*, II, pp. 238-242).

5. "Non Vramto de Ynterprete," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 25 (*infra*, II, p. 242).

a twenty-year old native of Socorro, might be taken. This Indian, after the retreat of the Spaniards the year before, in company with others of his tribe, left Fray Cristóbal and went to Socorro. Since Fray Cristóbal was six leagues south of the inhabited region of the province, this would indicate that Lucas and his companions had accompanied the retreating Spaniards that far, and there had deserted them. During their stay at Socorro the Apaches made two raids upon that pueblo. Later they were summoned to Isleta by an Indian chief whose name Lucas did not know. The latter remained at Isleta until a month before the Spaniards returned when he went on a visit to the Queres country. When the Mendoza party advanced as far as Cochiti he willingly joined the Spaniards because he learned that his brother was with them.⁶

Next to be examined was Pedro Naranjo, the old Queres necromancer of San Felipe who had been captured at Isleta on December 8. After his testimony had been recorded, the old man acknowledged his guilt, and, pleading fear as his excuse for having come down to instruct in the "idolatrous" dances, which he said that he abhorred in his heart because they were offensive to God, he asked to be admitted again into the bosom of the church.⁷ His testimony was the last that was taken that day. The next day the examination of the Indian prisoners was concluded with the recording of the declarations of Juan Lorenzo and Francisco Lorenzo, the two young San Felipe Indians, mention of whom has already been made.⁸

The testimony of all six Indians, historically important in every detail, deals chiefly with the causes and events leading up to and following the revolt. But of more than passing interest in this connection, because of its important bearing on later decisions, was the unanimous testimony of all six deponents that the apostates were continually deliberating plans for the total extermination of the Spaniards.⁹ Josephe in particular,

6. "Declaracion (del Indio Lucas)," in *ibid.*, ff. 25-26 (*infra*, II, pp. 243-244).

7. "Declaracion de Pedro naranjo de naçion queres," in *ibid.*, ff. 26-31 (*infra*, II, pp. 245-249).

8. "(Declaracion de Juo lorenzo y franco lorenzo hermas," in *ibid.*, ff. 31-32 (*infra*, II, pp. 249-252).

9. *Auto* of Otermín, in *ibid.*, f. 33 (*infra*, II, pp. 253-255), and declarations of the above-cited Indians.

supported by Pedro Naranjo, urged the Spaniards to exercise great vigilance, stating that it was the intention of the apostates to follow them as far as Isleta and there to execute their time-honored and oft-laid plan of making a raid on the horses so that, minus these, the Spaniards might fall an easy prey to Indian vengeance.

OFFICIAL INQUIRY INTO THE MENDOZA EXPEDITION

From such reports, corroborated by the unofficial accounts of the various members of the Mendoza party, the situation confronting the Spaniards was regarded as extremely critical. But up to that time, the second day after the arrival of the party, no official report of the Mendoza expedition had been filed. It should be remembered that Mendoza had been sent on this expedition primarily for the purpose of securing first-hand information on the Indian situation, and that his specific instructions had been to make investigations, institute prosecutions, and take depositions in his dealings with the apostates. It is not surprising, therefore, that upon his return Otermín was displeased and even disgusted,¹⁰ not only because the lieutenant general had not inflicted more punishment on the apostates or brought with him a single Indian chief, but because he had not recorded a single *auto* or other official document during the entire time that he was absent that might be filed with his own official *autos* as evidence of what had occurred on the expedition. In fact, the only accounts recorded by Mendoza while on the expedition were contained in the two letters which he wrote to Otermín, one from Alameda, the other from Sandia. Mendoza's excuse for not having recorded *autos*, as was Otermín's custom, had been that "always he was conferring with the said apostates with his arms in his hands," so that there was neither time nor place for such *diligencias*.¹¹ Later, on February 11, Otermín, in a letter to the viceroy, made the charge that Mendoza and his men had employed themselves more in prying

10. *Respuesta de Ayeta*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 63 (*infra*, II, pp. 315-316).

11. *Auto* of Otermín, in *ibid.*, f. 33 (*infra*, II, p. 255).

into the trapdoors of the pueblos than in importuning the Indians to surrender.¹²

"In order to investigate and verify the designs of the Indians," Otermín now ordered that Mendoza and other of the more meritorious and trustworthy persons who had accompanied him and were present at the conversations and dealings which the Indians had held with the Spaniards should alike be submitted to an official inquiry.¹³ For this purpose the governor formulated an interrogatory consisting of ten groups of questions to be propounded to the men whom he intended to examine. The substance of these groups, in the order in which they were recorded, is as follows:

1. Did the Spaniards under Mendoza discover a gathering of the apostate Indians as soon as they arrived at the district of Cochití? If so, where were these Indians located, and what did they do as soon as they recognized the Spaniards? Did they find any people in the pueblos through which they passed? What news did they acquire on the expedition?

2. Did they recognize among the apostates any signs or demonstrations of repentance for having broken the laws of God and of the king? Did the Indians make any signs of friendly obsequiousness, such as giving up their arrows, or begging pardon? Did they in any other way give any indication that they would willingly yield to the Spaniards?

3. Did the apostates ask for some term or terms whereby a conference might be held between some one or more of their number and Otermín, or did they communicate with Mendoza relative to surrendering to him? If so, did this occur at the beginning of the conferences or later?

4. Did the apostates contract for or ask for any favors, or make any other demands in case they should surrender to the Spaniards? If so, what persons made these requests? Were these requests from the people in general, and were they made by the governors, chiefs, and leading men, or by some particular person?

¹². Otermín to the viceroy, February 11, 1682, in *ibid.*, f. 104 (*infra*, II, p. 372).

¹³. *Ibid.*, ff. 33-34 (*infra*, II, p. 255).

5. Were any agreements or contracts made either on the part of the Spaniards or of the Indians? If so, what were these agreements, who made them, and in what way and under what circumstances were they made?

6. During the time that they were communicating with the apostates, did they see or in any other way learn of the burning by Otermín of the pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia, and of his destruction of all the seed, grain, and estufas in these pueblos, or did they not learn of this until they returned? If such were not the case, where did they learn of it?

7. Did they discover either before or after withdrawing from the apostates any designs or signs of treason among them? Did they have any notice or suspicion of any such treason other than from the five prisoners brought back with them? What evidence was there that the Indians had followed them, and with what intention?

8. From their personal knowledge, and with God and their conscience as their guides, did they believe that the apostates were making treasonable preparations, or did they believe that they intended to surrender in good faith?

9. During the entire time that they were gone, did they plunder any pueblo or did they inflict any damage or perform any hostile act in any of them?

10. How, in the light of current reports and of public opinion and with God and their consciences as judges, did they feel toward the Indians, and what did they think of their talks and harangues?¹⁴

In answer to all of these questions, Mendoza and the six squad leaders who had accompanied him were asked to relate all that they knew. The declarations that were accordingly made, together with the two letters of Mendoza to Otermín, constitute the primary sources for the story of the expedition. Those portions which relate to that story have already been utilized. The only remaining points of interest and importance connected with the above questions are the opinions expressed by the seven

14. "Ynterrogatorio de preguntas," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 35-36 (*infra*, II, pp. 255-257).

deponents concerning the Indians in general, their answers to the second, seventh, eighth, and tenth groups of questions.

The unanimous opinion was that the Indians were very tenacious of their religious and economic customs, and, being apostates and rebels at heart, it was a hopeless task to try and get them to conform to Spanish and Christian ways of living. Mendoza's experiences in New Mexico, covering thirty-eight years and the administrations of fourteen governors, taught him that the Indians were traitors and idolaters at heart. Herrera did not detect one trace of Christianity in any of the Indians. Chavez could detect among the Indians no sorrow for having broken the laws of God and the king, nor any desire to change their condition, but, on the other hand, a willingness to fight rather than to yield again to the Christians. He considered them traitors, continually plotting treason and revenge, "of evil life and customs—a useless people of many superstitions and barbarities, among whom were no real Christian traits, as never more apparent than on the present occasion." Márquez thought the Indians a very brutal, incompetent people, mere children of vengeance—unworthy of any trust, in no wise Christians, but, on the other hand, barbarous, superstitious, believers in witchcraft, idolaters, and traitors. Madrid considered them traitors, believers in witchcraft, idolaters, with "neither fear of God nor with any Christian traits"—a treacherous people who had only come to terms with the Spaniards because of heavy snows and the consequent dampening of their bows and arrows. Quintana could detect no true signs of repentance among the Indians, who impressed him as well pleased with their idolatrous ways of living, which they had always desired, and who more resembled "Christians by force than Indians converted to the holy faith." López considered them well grounded in their heathen customs, which they had always desired; believers in witchcraft and devotees of idolatry, from all of which it had proved impossible to convert them, either by the severity of the punishments inflicted, or by the number of missionaries brought in—"a people, coarse and intractable, as full of idolatry as their ancestors, as never more apparent than at that time."

But most significant of all was the frank statement of Her-

ra, the second in command on the expedition, that it would be an impossible task to subjugate the apostates. Coupled with this statement was his recommendation that the attempt be abandoned for the present.¹⁵

In short, it may be said that the date of the arrival of Mendoza at the plaza de armas marks a definite change in the policy of the expedition. Whatever had been the attitude of the different members in regard to it up to that time there could henceforth be no mistake concerning the general discontent among the soldiers and their unwillingness to participate in further efforts to reduce the apostates, as the following facts will show. After Mendoza returned to the plaza de armas, the report spread through the camp that Otermín, disgusted because the lieutenant general had not inflicted greater punishment on the apostates, had resolved to select seventy men and to go in person to punish them. With this in mind Ayeta, on December 21, the same day that Herrera's testimony was recorded, made a personal visit through the camp in order to ascertain the opinions of the soldiers regarding the proposition. He "found in some such rebelliousness and in others such arguments" against continuing the entrada that those who had horses were not willing to lend them to their own fathers, "even though the heavens should fall," much less to the governor, since it was "customary in those parts to hate whoever governs."¹⁶

The declaration of Mendoza was recorded on December 20 and those of Herrera, Chavez, Márquez, and Madrid on December 21 at the plaza de armas that had been established on December 16. After Madrid's declaration on December 21, Otermín issued an *auto* stating that since in that location the pastures were failing the almost exhausted horses, and since it was necessary to go at least a league for firewood, he had decided

15. "Declaración del The genl de la Caualleria," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 40 (*infra* II, pp. 261-266); "declaración de sarjento, mayor s^an, de herra," in *ibid.*, f. 44 (*infra* II, pp. 270-272, 274-275); "declaración de don fern^{do} de chaves," in *ibid.*, ff. 45-46 (*infra* II, pp. 276-279); "declarass^{on} del capⁿ Po Marquez," in *ibid.*, ff. 46-47 (*infra* II, pp. 279-281); "Declaración del capⁿ roque de Madrid," in *ibid.*, ff. 47-48 (*infra* II, pp. 282-284); "declarass^{on} del sarjento mor, luis de quintana," in *ibid.*, ff. 50-51 (*infra* II, 287, 291-292); "Declaración de diego Lopes," in *ibid.*, ff. 55, 56 (*infra* II, pp. 293-296, 298-303).

16. *Respuesta de Ayeta*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 64-65 (*infra* II, p. 316).

to fall back to a place about a league below what was once the hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, where there was wood in abundance and good grazing for horses.¹⁷ This place was five leagues above Isleta, and therefore about two and a half or three leagues below Alameda. It seems quite clear from the documentary evidence that it was on the east side of the river.¹⁸ Davis¹⁹ errs in stating that this place was one league below Sandia. Otermín, in ordering a retreat, expressed a regret at having to fall back even one step, but stated that he felt that the exigencies of the situation demanded it.²⁰ The next day, December 22, at Plaza de Armas de la Hacienda de Luis de Carbajal, the declarations of Luis de Quintana and Diego López Sambrano were recorded. The plaza de armas was destined to remain at that place until December 24, when a retreat to Isleta was begun.²¹

JUNTA DE GUERRA OF DECEMBER 23-24, AND THE RETREAT TO ISLETA

On December 23, Otermín announced his intention of suspending for the time being further inquiry concerning the Mendoza expedition, and, on account of the severity of the winter, the worn-out condition of the horses, and the few conveniences to be had in that locality, to call a junta de guerra in order to discuss the situation "so grave and difficult." All the chiefs and other men of practical experience, including the cabos actuales, sargentos mayores, and capitanes reformados, were ordered to attend. And, since his instructions required him to confer with the religious on matters of grave importance, a special *auto* was issued in which Father Ayeta and the other religious were invited to attend the meeting.²²

When Father Ayeta was personally notified by Francisco Xavier of Otermín's *auto* calling a junta, he stated that the

17. "Autto (de Otermín)" in *ibid.*, f. 48 (*infra*, II, pp. 284-285).

18. *Auto* of Otermín, in *ibid.*, f. 77 (*infra*, II, pp. 337-338); "Autto (de Otermín)," in *ibid.*, ff. 77-80 (*infra*, II, pp. 338-339).

19. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 334.

20. "Autto (de Otermín)," in *ibid.*, f. 48 (*infra*, II, p. 285).

21. *Auto* of Otermín in *ibid.*, f. 77 (*infra*, II, p. 338).

22. "Autto (de Otermín)," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 56-57 (*infra*, II, p. 303); "Auto de Su ssa," in *ibid.*, f. 57 (*infra*, II, p. 304).

matter which the governor was considering had cost and was still costing him much sorrow and anxiety, and that since the return of Juan Domínguez de Mendoza he had worked a great deal but with little gratification or profit. Since he desired to express his opinion in writing he requested Otermín to suspend the meeting for two hours in order that he might have time in which to prepare his statement. Requesting Xavier to call later for the written reply he excused himself from attending the meeting on the ground that his health was so poor that he did not dare to go out in the snow that was then falling. Otermín, on hearing these requests, conceded them at once and postponed the junta until afternoon.²³

About eleven o'clock, Xavier was summoned by Father Ayeta. The opinion which he at that time submitted to the secretary of government and war was quite lengthy, filling approximately eight folios, or the equivalent of fourteen typewritten pages. He began his discussion by stating emphatically that he did not believe that there was any prospect of Otermín being able to inflict further punishment on the apostates. In the first part of his discussion he showed that none of the five reasons for having believed that the Pueblos would welcome the return of the Spaniards had been based on facts. The Apaches had not destroyed a single pueblo nor done the apostates notable damage, notwithstanding that the two tribes were then at war. The Pueblos had not been found desirous of deserting their own domineering chieftains, and "this hope remains disintegrated and seems uncertain." They had not experienced stings of conscience as repentant Christians, for, "at the date of this writing it has not been possible to perceive action, trace, or the slightest cause" from which it might be inferred that the apostates were not devoted "to blind idolatry, giving worship to the devil, and living according to and in the same manner as in their paganism." On the other hand, they were found to be so completely dominated by the devil that they had been willing to sacrifice all the conveniences of a settled and semi-civilized people, and in desperation had deserted their homes and fled to the mountains.

23. "Auto (de Xavier)," in *ibid.*, ff. 57-58 (*infra*, II, pp. 304-305); *Auto of Otermín*, in *ibid.*, f. 58 (*infra*, II, p. 305).

If up to that time, after fourteen days of snowing, the Indians, with no more shelter than some poor hides with which they cover themselves and their weeping women and children, were still obstinate, it was Ayeta's opinion that they were determined to die rather than yield to the Spaniards. Fifth and last, the apostates had not been influenced by the good treatment accorded the Isleta Indians, for it could not be denied that they were aware of the extreme mercy and clemency with which his lordship had pardoned all those of Isleta, and also that "he was not coming to do them harm but to free them from the power of the devil."

In the second part of his reply Ayeta discussed the fickle and half-hearted attitude of the majority of the settlers toward the entrada and the effect of this upon the outcome of the expedition. He told of the enthusiasm manifested by the settlers when he set out for Mexico at their request to solicit aid—enthusiasm whereby "they showed the depths of their grief and the sincere wish again to restore their country with the aid which they asked for, even though they should have to eat stones; that without doubt they would have the greatest joy in the world on the day when they knew that his excellency, the viceroy, would aid them to return to this reduction—;" of the rumors which he heard of the unwillingness of some to assist in the proposed entrada, when on his return with the supplies he reached Parral; of the measures taken to force the deserters from El Paso then in Sonora and Parral, "some of whom are at present in this camp," to return and assist in the preparations for the entrada; of his arrival at San Lorenzo where "there was not lacking one to begin placing difficulties and embarrassments," in the way; of his realization at last that all the "utmost courageousness, zeal, promises, and desires" manifested by the settlers at La Salineta for returning to conquer New Mexico, had been reduced to cold indifference; of his chiding Otermín for his lack of interest in the undertaking; of his efforts to encourage the settlers in the proposition; and, finally, of their coöperation after he had agreed to supply them with 2,000 cattle and 2,000 fanegas of maize. But in spite of all this he pointed out that when the army began its march the number of discontented soldiers exceeded

the number of satisfied ones. He then referred to his efforts to cheer and regale the soldiers on the way, often at the expense of personal mortification and disgust; of their final resignation to the entrada as a matter for which there was no remedy; and of the lack of confidence manifested as they approached the settled countries of the Pueblos, especially when considering the attack on Isleta. After Isleta had been captured and Mendoza had been sent on ahead, Ayeta stated that Otermín, worried because he had not heard from the lieutenant general, who had carried the pick of both men and firearms, decided not to push on farther, but to establish a camp near Alameda. When Mendoza finally returned and it was reported in the camp that Otermín, disgusted because Mendoza had not done more damage on his expedition, was determined, with seventy picked soldiers, to go out in person to chastise the apostates, Ayeta stated that his visit through the camp for the purpose of ascertaining the different opinions held regarding this subject had convinced him that it would be an impossible task for Otermín to carry out his plan.

For all of the above reasons and because the Indians had deserted their pueblos so that the only punishment that could be inflicted upon them would be to burn the pueblos which Mendoza had failed to burn, Ayeta thought that it would be much better to guarantee protection to the Isleta Indians. Since they had already been threatened by the apostates, and, in their fear, had sent to Alameda, when Otermín was in that pueblo, and asked for protection, Ayeta thought that if this was not granted there was danger of their being attacked by or else joining the apostates; the outcome of which in either case would be disastrous. Ayeta therefore recommended above all things that Isleta be fully protected, even if Otermín had to spare thirty men to go to that pueblo. After such protection was assured, the policy to be adopted might be decided upon in a junta de guerra.

In a postscript, Father Ayeta asked Otermín to inform all those who might be anxious to continue the entrada that he would gladly furnish them with all the horses belonging to himself and the other religious that might be fit for service, and all the mules that they might wish to take. For their sustenance

he stated that he would deliver to them the hardtack which he and his associate religious possessed, while a handful of tobacco and two pounds of chocolate and sugar would be given to each soldier. This, he said, as little as it was, was all that he could offer them.²⁴

Ayeta's reply was presented in writing, and as such was incorporated with the official *autos* of the expedition, but there is no evidence whatever to show that it was read or made public in the junta that later assembled. Soon after it was presented, Otermín, for the second time that day, issued an *auto* ordering the officials of the army to assemble in a council of war, "in order that, as vassals of his majesty, meritorious men of experience, soldiers of valor and reputation, looking at the matter with the attention that is required—they may see, confer, and determine what ought to be done on the present occasion." Each man was instructed to voice his own individual opinion in order that whatever determination was reached in the meeting might "forever be evident in these *autos*." In the *auto* calling the junta de guerra, the following officials were instructed to attend and take part in it: the maestre de campo, Pedro de Leiva; the maestre de campo and lieutenant of the cavalry, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza; the sargento mayor, Nicolás Rodríguez Rey; the alcalde ordinario and sargento mayor, Juan Lucero de Godoy; the sargento mayor, regidor, and proveedor general, Luis Granillo; the captain and regidor, Alonso del Río; the sargento mayor, captain and caudillo of the people of the presidio, Sebastián de Herrera; the sargentos mayores Don Fernando [Durán] de Chávez, Diego Lucero de Godoy, Diego López Sambrano, Luis de Quintana; and the captains Pedro Márquez, Roque de Madrid, Diego Domínguez [de Mendoza], Ignacio Baca, Pedro de Leiva, Felipe Romero, Joseph Nebárez, Francisco de Anaya, Francisco de Madrid, Antonio Márquez, Gonzalo de Paredes, Salvador Olguín, Antonio Domínguez [de Mendoza], Cristóbal Baca, Antonio de Avalos, Don Joseph [Durán] de Chávez, and Joseph de Padilla.²⁵ In addition to the

24. *Respuesta de Ayeta*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 58-64 (*infra*, II, pp. 305-318).

25. *Auto of Otermín*, in *ibid.*, f. 65 (*infra*, II, pp. 318-319).

twenty-eight men whose names appear above, the sargento mayor, Lorenzo de Madrid, and Captains Juan Luis and Don Fernando de Chávez,²⁶ also gave opinions in the junta. Of these thirty-one men it is interesting to note that Juan Lucero de Godoy had seen forty-four years of service in New Mexico; Francisco de Anaya, thirty-eight years; Pedro Márquez, thirty-three years; Felipe Romero, twenty-eight years; Juan Luis, twenty-six years; Ignacio Baca, twenty-two years; Gonzalo de Paredes, seventeen years; and Joseph de Padilla, twelve years.²⁷

On December 23, the opinions of fifteen men as expressed in the junta were recorded. Although widely different opinions were held on certain points, it was their unanimous testimony that the horses had become so weak and debilitated from work and exposure to the winter weather that they were practically useless, and that as a result many of the soldiers were even forced to do scout duty on foot.²⁸ Moreover, the testimony of some, including that of Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, showed that the strength of the horses was continually and steadily deteriorating. Juan Lucero de Godoy, who spoke from the fulness of his forty-four years of experience in New Mexico, felt that during the winter when the rivers were accustomed to freeze over and so much snow was on the ground, all of the horses and mules would die, since they were already very "debilitated, lean and worn out;" Captain Pedro Márquez, chief (*cabo*) of one of the companies, said that from his thirty-three years of experience in that country he believed that what horses did live through the winter would be so weak that they would be unable to stand and would have to be raised to their feet with poles.

While most of the fifteen men mentioned the fact that many of the soldiers were without horses, the number of such soldiers in the different companies was emphasized by some. Diego López Sambrano, captain of a squad of thirty cavalrymen, said

26. *Pareceres*, in *ibid.*, ff. 74, 75, 76 (*infra*, II, pp. 335-337). The names given above are as they appear, except for slight differences in spelling, in the *auto* calling the junta. Where there has been found a difference between the above forms and individual signatures, such differences have been supplied in brackets.

27. *Pareceres*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 66-67 (*infra*, II, p. 321); f. 74 (*infra*, II, p. 334); ff. 69-70 (*infra*, II, p. 326); f. 70 (*infra*, II, p. 327); f. 75 (*infra*, II, p. 335); f. 74 (*infra*, II, p. 334); ff. 73-74 (*infra*, II, p. 333); f. 70 (*infra*, II, p. 327).

28. *Pareceres*, in *ibid.*, ff. 65-70 (*infra*, II, pp. 319-328).

that the majority of his men were forced to do scout duty on foot, and that the horses that could be mounted were practically useless, not even being fit "to make a *diligencia* [of the distance] of two gun-shots." Captain Roque de Madrid, also commander of one of the companies, reported that he and his companions were scouting on foot because the majority of their horses were worn out with the work which they have had in so much bad weather. Captain Joseph de Padilla, who had served twelve years in New Mexico as a frontier *alcalde mayor*, testified that the condition of the horses was such "that if four men [evidently in his company] have horses to mount, all the others are on foot." Lastly, Captain Felipe Romero, another squad leader, testified that in his squad only two soldiers had horses fit for service, and that similar conditions prevailed in the other squads.²⁹

Other facts emphasized and brought out in the junta that day were the lack of necessities among the soldiers, who were experiencing all the discomforts of a severe winter; the flight of the apostates to the mountains where they had intrenched themselves; their deceitfulness and duplicity in dealing with Mendoza; the warlike character of the Apaches, through whose territory the one hundred league journey to San Lorenzo lay; the avowed plan of the apostates, spies from whose forces surrounded them, to make off with the horses; the request of the Isleta Indians for protection; and, finally, the extreme danger to which the latter Indians were exposed.³⁰

In the view of the general situation, various recommendations were made. Pedro de Leiva was in favor of moving the camp to some more convenient place, but under no circumstances of dividing the force. He believed that to remain longer at that place would be at the risk of all being destroyed, especially in case of very severe weather detaining them there. In order that the Indians might not get the idea that they were cowards, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza wished Otermín to push on to Santo Domingo, since the country was level as far as that pueblo. Once established there, Otermín might decide upon the

29. *Pareceres*, in *Autos Pertenecientes* (*infra*, II, pp. 319-328).

30. *Pareceres*, in *ibid.*, ff. 65-70 (*infra*, II, pp. 319-328).

future policy of the expedition. In the meantime, he thought that some of the apostate chiefs might come to see the governor. Nicolás Rodríguez Rey, also afraid that the Indians would think that they were abandoning the country, recommended, instead of the whole force trying to reach Cochití, that from fifty to seventy men should "go back and show themselves to the enemy," he himself to be one of the number, since he was well provided with horses and other necessities. Once established in Cochití, he thought that Otermín might decide upon a policy to be pursued.

Juan Lucero de Godoy and Alonso del Río felt that to divide their force would be greatly to increase the danger of all being lost, and that to remain longer in that country would result in total ruin. They were in favor of retreating and of taking measures to safeguard the lives of the natives of Isleta as well as to make sure that they did not return to idolatry. Luis Granillo, Sebastián de Herrera, and Don Fernando Durán y Chávez likewise recommended a retreat to Isleta, emphasizing the fact that the natives had already appealed to Otermín for aid and that Mendoza had done all that could be done among the apostates. Herrera and Chávez thought, in case Otermín did advance northward, that the force should not be divided. Luis de Quintana, without recommending any definite move, thought that their first consideration should be the protection of the natives of Isleta. Diego López Sambrano merely expressed an opinion that it would be both useless and impossible to try and proceed further. Diego Lucero de Godoy felt that to return to San Lorenzo at that time, with so little accomplished, would not only make the Indians of that province bolder but also those of Parral and Sonora; that at least they should come in contact with the apostates and ascertain their designs, which to him seemed to be prompted more by fear than by valor.

Roque de Madrid did not believe that Otermín could conquer the Indians, even with his veteran soldiers, and recommended that he consider the best plans for the conservation of the Isleta Indians. Pedro Márquez did not think that the force should be divided and likewise did not believe that it would be possible at that time to reduce the kingdom. To Captain Joseph

de Padilla must be accredited the first recorded recommendation that, in order to safeguard properly the Isleta Indians, they should be carried to San Lorenzo. When that place was reached, he thought that Otermín should notify the viceroy and ask for whatever seemed necessary to reduce them. He did not believe that it would be possible to conquer them at that time. Captain Felipe Romero also believed that it was a hopeless task to try and conquer the apostates at that time and seconded Captain Padilla's idea of carrying the Isleta Indians to San Lorenzo "in order to safeguard their souls—and that they may not perish at the hands of the apostates for having accepted the holy faith."

It was thus seen that there were six expressions against dividing the force; three in favor of continuing the entrada and making further efforts to reduce the apostates; five for retreating to Isleta; two urging Otermín to take such measures as he thought best for the protection of the Isleta Indians; and two for retreating to San Lorenzo and taking the Isleta Indians with them. Five men stated frankly that they believed it would be impossible to conquer the Indians at that time.³¹

About four o'clock on the next morning, December 24, Juan de la Cruz, Otermín's trusted lieutenant at Isleta, arrived at the camp. He came to crave protection again for the natives of that pueblo, stating that about midnight of that same night a troop of mounted Indians, apparently fifty in number, under the leadership of Don Luis Tupatú, the superior chief of the apostates, had called to the Isleta Indians from a bluff or knoll on the opposite side of the river and asked them what they had done with the Spaniards; was it because the Spaniards had tied them that they did not leave their pueblo and join the apostates? They informed the Isleta Indians that the Piroso who had fled from that pueblo, after having given obedience to the Spaniards, had joined the apostates and were very well pleased; that if they did not likewise join the apostates the latter would kill them and their women and children wherever they might catch them. The Isleta Indians, on thus being threatened, armed themselves and at once sent Juan to solicit aid of Otermín in the name of the governor, captains, and people of that pueblo. As soon as

31. *Pareceres*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 65-70 (*infra*, II, pp. 319-328).

Otermín heard Juan's story, he ordered twenty men to make ready to go at once, under the command of Luis Granillo, to the assistance and protection of the Isleta Indians and upon arrival at that pueblo to send him word of conditions there.³²

As soon as Granillo had been dispatched on his mission, Otermín had Juan sworn and called on him to tell all that he knew concerning the arrival at Isleta of Pedro Naranjo, the old instructor in idolatry and necromancy who had been captured in that pueblo on December 8. Juan's story was that, shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards, the apostate chiefs had agreed upon a plan to destroy Isleta. In furtherance of this plan, Pedro Naranjo had come down to make arrangements in behalf of those chiefs for sending all of the young men of the pueblo to Taos for some cattle which the Isleta Indians were in need of. While these young men were absent from the pueblo, the apostates were to attack Isleta, kill the old men who were left, and, in order to cement their friendship with the Apaches, to give the women and children to them in recompense for their people killed in wars with the Spaniards. As their part of the booty, the apostates were to have the provisions and clothes of the unfortunates. The young men who were to go after the cattle were to be killed while in the upper district. The reason assigned for this treachery was that the Isleta Indians had not given them assistance in the general revolt and had not killed the religious and Spaniards among them.³³ As has already been shown, the news that the northern apostates were planning to attack Isleta shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards had previously been ascertained by Otermín. While Juan's testimony is important from the standpoint of showing the uncompromising attitude of the apostates, the fact that he was called on to testify on this subject at this time may confirm Bancroft³⁴ in his opinion that Otermín attempted to fill the *autos* with evidence that justified a retreat.

Immediately after Juan's testimony, Otermín reconvened

32. "Declaracion de Ju-n" in *ibid.*, f. 71 (*infra*, II, pp. 328-329); *Auto* of Otermín, in *ibid.*, f. 77 (*infra*, II, pp. 337-338).

33. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 71-72 (*infra*, II pp. 328-330).

34. *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 190.

the junta de guerra. Before it was finally dissolved, fifteen other officials in the army had expressed opinions and recommendations concerning plans for future action. Every one of these men also emphasized the worn out condition of the horses. Captain Antonio Domínguez de Mendoza, Captain Francisco de Madrid, and Captain Salvador Olguín estimated that at that time, when there should be mounted soldiers on scout duty day and night, there were not forty horses in the camp fit to be saddled and bridled. Captain Diego Domínguez de Mendoza and Captain Gonzalo de Paredes pointed out that not only did work horses often die during severe winters but that likewise even wild horses in the open country often succumbed. Captain Francisco de Anaya stated that in Luis de Quintana's squad, of which he was a member, there were not four men who were provided with horses fit for work.

Aside from the condition of the horses, emphasis was given to practically the same points that were stressed the day before, such as the danger from the assembled Indians; the proximity of spies, whose tracks were seen daily; the continued snowstorms; the danger of the Isleta Indians and their appeal for help. In view of the general situation, Captain Antonio Márquez felt that it would be impossible to continue further. Captain Antonio Domínguez de Mendoza and Captain Francisco de Madrid merely emphasized the danger as they saw it and left matters with Otermín without making any recommendations. Captain Antonio de Abalos seconded the remarks of Luis de Quintana made the preceding day. Captain Salvador de Olguín was in favor of retreating from that place before such a move should become an impossibility. Captain Pedro de Leiva and Captain Diego Domínguez did not believe that it was possible to execute further *diligencias*. The latter felt that even if such were possible it would still be impossible to conquer the apostates. He therefore recommended safeguarding the Isleta Indians. This latter view was also held by Captain Gonzalo de Paredes. Captain Ignacio Baca and Captain Fernando de Chávez thought that it would be impossible to inflict further punishment on the apostates. Captain Lorenzo de Madrid, Captain Joseph Durán y Chávez, and Captain Fernando de Chávez were in favor of

returning to San Lorenzo before it was too late. Captain Francisco de Anaya had never experienced anything during his thirty years in New Mexico such as he was then experiencing. He was in favor of retiring to Isleta before settling upon a fixed policy. Captain Cristóbal Baca was in favor of either returning to El Paso or else of investigating at once the possibilities of wintering in the country. Captain Juan Luis felt that if they did not leave that place soon all of them would be on foot, for the horses were rapidly deteriorating in strength as a result of the severe winter weather.

It is thus seen that of the fifteen men who expressed themselves that day, not one of them was in favor of continuing the entrada; four were frank in their opposition to such; while the prevailing opinion was, in consideration of their own conservation and the safety and protection of the Indians of Isleta, to retreat at least as far as that pueblo. Three were in favor of leaving for San Lorenzo at once.³⁵

After the testimony of Captain Don Fernando de Chávez had been recorded, Otermín decided to suspend until a more opportune time the announcement of a decision relative to the opinions expressed in the junta de guerra and ordered that the entire force should set out at once in good military order for Isleta, five leagues away, "with the entire train of wagons and other military equipments." Spies and sentinels were appointed to reconnoiter and look for the enemy wherever they might be, so as "to disperse and dislodge them from the roads," in case they should be found. The assigned reason for ordering this retreat was that there was danger of Don Luis Tupatú and his retinue of agile and trained horsemen, skilled in the use of the harquebus and in archery, not only destroying Isleta but being joined by other apostates and blocking the route to El Paso.³⁶

That same day, December 24, after the retreat had been begun, Otermín received a letter from Luis Granillo written after his arrival at Isleta. From it he learned that the Isleta Indians had become quiet after the withdrawal of the apostates,

35. *Pareceres*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 72-76 (*infra*, II, pp. 330-337).

36. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 77 (*infra*, II, pp. 337-338); Otermín to Granillo, *ibid.*, f. 78 (*infra*, II, pp. 340-341).

and, realizing that it was unnecessary to continue the journey to Isleta with undue speed, Otermín ordered that they should proceed slowly so that they might utilize to the best possible advantage the pastures and wood along the river.³⁷ The same day he answered Granillo's letter. After informing Granillo of the conclusion of the junta after his departure; of his determination not to announce a decision in regard to the opinions expressed in the meeting on account of his anxiety over affairs at Isleta; and of his decision to retreat to that pueblo, scouring the country on the way for the enemy, he instructed him to assure the Isleta governor, captains, and people generally that he would fully protect them in the name of the king. Express orders were given to Granillo to arrest the Piros Indian who had come from Acoma, and any other Indian who, under any pretext whatever, might enter the pueblo without license from Otermín, and to detain them until his arrival. He was also instructed to have all the people set to work grinding meal and pinole. This letter was dated, "from this camp, December 24, 1681."³⁸

Otermín continued his retreat at the rate of about a league a day.³⁹ When next heard of, on December 27, a plaza de armas had been established at the house of Captain Francisco de Ortega. There, on that day, Otermín examined two Indian prisoners. One of these, Alonso Atuzayo, a native of Alameda and a widower apparently more than seventy years old, had been captured with two young grandsons in the assault upon Isleta, and had later been among those absolved from apostasy by Father Ayeta. While Otermín was in Alameda, Alonso and his two grandsons left Isleta and joined the Spaniards there, where they were given the utmost freedom. But one night, taking his two grandsons with him, Alonso fled from the camp. Later, some Spaniards, on going to Sandia, found him in that pueblo in company with four apostates. On seeing the Spaniards, all attempted to escape, but Alonso and one of the apostates were easily captured on account of their age. In order to find out why Alonso had returned to apostasy; what he had done with his

37. "Autto (de Otermín)" in *ibid.*, f. 78 (*infra*, II, p. 339).

38. Otermín to Granillo, in *ibid.*, f. 78 (*infra*, II, pp. 340-341).

39. "Autto (de Otermín)," in *ibid.*, f. 85 (*infra*, II, p. 346).

two grandsons; what had occurred while all five Indians were together; what was the nature of their conversations; and what had been the designs of both Alonso and his fellow prisoner, Otermín had Captain Joseph de Leiva Nebárez, who understood the Tigua language, appointed as interpreter so that he might be able to examine them.⁴⁰

With the *maestre de campo*, Pedro de Leiva, and the *sargentos mayores*, Sebastián de Herrera, Diego López, and Joseph de Hugartte, acting as witnesses, Alonso Atuzayo was first sworn. When asked why he had fled from the camp where he was "absolved and free" and where no one had done him harm, and what he had done with his two grandchildren, Alonso replied that his intentions had been to join the apostates, and for that reason he had carried the children with him. When they reached Sandia they met four other Tigua Indians named Cuichuro (or Cuchura), Pacabori, Sinitti (or Unsuti), and Situpatu, all natives like himself of Alameda. There Alonso intrusted his grandchildren to their relative Cuichuro. Later, while all were breakfasting in the pueblo, Alonso asked his companions where they had come from. They replied from the Indian junta. "And before another word was spoken" they discovered the Spaniards, whereupon all made their escape except Alonso and Unsuti.⁴¹ When asked by Otermín how he could, in the fear of God and with such terrible risk to his soul, have been guilty of such a sin as that of joining the apostates and carrying and intrusting his grandchildren to them, especially after he had been absolved and had been reinstated in the church, Alonso meekly replied that he knew he had done wrong, but that the devil had deceived him and twisted his heart, and that he had felt that the life which the Indians were living was better than that of the Spaniards.⁴²

After Alonso's testimony had been recorded, Otermín had the other prisoner Juan, or Unsuti as he was called in his native language, brought before him. This Indian, also a widower,

40. "Nombramiento de Interprete," in *ibid.*, ff. 80-81 (*infra*, II, pp. 341-342).

41. Such is the name of this Indian as given by himself. For that reason I have used it in preference to the form Sinitti as used first by Alonso.

42. "Declarassⁿ. de Vn Yndio," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 81-82 (*infra*, II, pp. 342-344).

was judged to be more than one hundred years old, "for he declared that he distinctly remembered, as if it were yesterday, when the Spaniards entered this kingdom," at which time he was baptized *en pie*. Having been sworn, he was asked if he knew why he was a prisoner. He replied that he supposed it was because some Spaniards had caught him in Alameda (he evidently meant Sandia) when he was on his way to join some of his relatives who were with the Spaniards. He denied that he tried to hide from them and stated that, although a prisoner, he was very contented. When asked to tell what he knew or had heard concerning the conversations and juntas of the apostates, Unsuti said "that what he has generally heard is that they will die undergoing hardships from cold and want," rather than yield to the Spaniards. He stated that although it was true that many had wished to return peaceably to their pueblos as a result of Otermín's messages to them, and that when Mendoza and his men had made overtures of peace at Cochití, many others had accepted them because of their desire to return to the quietude of their homes, the apostate leaders had opposed this, and the Indian rabble, out of fear, did what their leaders told them. Juan Unsuti was then questioned concerning the causes of the revolt and the action of the Indians after the Spaniards had been driven out,⁴³ all of which has its bearing elsewhere.

43. "Declarasson, de Vn Yndio," in *ibid.*, ff. 82-83 (*infra*, II, pp. 344-346).

XV. THE SPANIARDS AT ISLETA, DECEMBER 30,
1681, JANUARY 1, 1682

THE REVIEW AND REGISTRY OF THE ANIMALS

By December 30 Otermín's division had reached the place on the opposite side of the river from Isleta from where at midnight, December 23, the Indians under Don Luis Tupatú had threatened the natives of that pueblo. There, in view of the general situation confronting them, as brought out in the junta of December 23-24; the diversity of opinions that had there been expressed; and the fact that he had deferred the announcement of his decision following the conclusion of the junta, Otermín issued orders for a general review and registry of all the animals in the camp. It was his recorded intention in so doing to ascertain definitely their real condition with the idea of equipping, if it should seem practicable, seventy men for another offensive campaign against the Indians, and likewise of determining whether it would be best to garrison fifty men at Isleta for its defense, not only during the absence of their colleagues, but while awaiting a reply from the viceroy to a report which he was contemplating sending to that official, asking for further orders and for instructions as to what to do with the Isleta Indians. Otermín at the same time issued orders for another junta at which the army officials and leading soldiers were to be interviewed concerning the situation. "And having a sufficient number, let this *auto* and their opinions be made known to the others, in order that before God and their own consciences they may say what ought to be done in such a case as the present one."¹ Such a method of conducting a junta is so far without precedent in the official records dealing with the revolt and subsequent events.

As soon as these orders had been issued, Otermín had all the animals conducted to the plaza of the camp to be reviewed by himself, the secretary of government and war, the different army

1. *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 84 (*infra*, II, p. 348).

officials, and the members of the expedition in general. Of the total number of 975 animals with which they had started from San Lorenzo, it was found that 125 had perished, leaving in all 850.² Of this number "some," including two hundred and thirty-six horses, were found to be sufficiently strong for a few more days of service.³ Davis is in error in stating that of the total number of animals "only one hundred and thirty-six were fit for service."⁴

THE JUNTA DE GUERRA OF DECEMBER 31, 1681

The next day, December 31, 1681, Otermín, in accordance with his announced plan, summoned the leading members of the expedition and instructed them to express their opinions concerning the future policy of the Spaniards. Among those mentioned as having taken the oath to express conscientiously their views were the alcalde, Juan Lucero de Godoy, the regidores, Luis Granillo and Alonso del Río, the squad leaders and sargentos mayores, Luis de Quintana and Diego López, and the captains, Don Fernando de Chávez and Roque de Madrid. After having discussed the situation at some length, these men reached the following conclusions. Since there were only twenty-five men that were prepared for any single emergency that might arise, it would not be possible for the governor to carry out his plan of equipping and sending seventy men against the Indians. Should the twenty-five men so equipped be sent on the proposed expedition, the camp would be incapacitated, practically defenseless, and at the mercy of the enemy. Experience had shown that the army could not conveniently remain in one place over two days at a time; the horses were in a miserable condition; while the Isleta Indians should be protected and their conversion assured above all things. Since some of the natives of that pueblo had made their escape and had joined the apostates after they had been absolved and, to all appearance, had been well pleased with the return of the Spaniards, it did not seem safe to

2. Concerning the relative proportion of horses and mules carried on the expedition, see above, p. cxxiii.

3. "Autto (de Xavier)," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 84-85 (*infra*, II, p. 349).

4. *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 335.

leave a Spanish force at Isleta for the protection of the natives; instead, it was thought that the latter should be made ready to accompany the Spaniards to San Lorenzo. Protection would thus be afforded along the retreat, and also the danger of the Indians returning to apostasy would thereby be relieved. Upon reaching the El Paso settlements, the Indians could be located conveniently among the Spaniards and advice of such action given to the viceroy.

Attention was called to the fact that at that time they were in ignorance of the situation at El Paso, and fears were expressed for the safety of their families on account of the danger of Indian attacks from Sonora and other districts. In conclusion it was pointed out that it did not seem possible for the force to winter in the country, and in this connection emphasis was brought to bear upon the fact that it was very necessary to conserve the animals, since on them depended their hope of reaching El Paso. In addition to the seven men previously mentioned as having taken an oath to express their opinions truly on the matter under advisement, the above conclusions were also signed by Otermín, Pedro de Leiva, and Sebastián de Herrera. Juan Domínguez de Mendoza and Nicolás Rodríguez Rey did not sign the statement but expressed their intentions of submitting individual opinions in writing.⁵

After the opinions of these ten men had been recorded, all of the rest of the army was convened in the plaza de armas by order of Otermín. To the assembled soldiers, Francisco Xavier, the secretary of government and war, read the recent *auto* of the governor, and likewise those containing the facts of the muster of the animals and the opinions rendered by the army officials. Having heard and understood the latter, the soldiers unanimously concurred in the same. Besides Xavier, eleven other men subscribed as witnesses to the fact that the soldiers had concurred with their chiefs.⁶

Next, the individual opinions of Nicolás Rodríguez Rey and Juan Domínguez de Mendoza were recorded. The former, who in the junta of December 23 had been in favor of sending from

5. "Vista," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 85-86 (*infra*, II, pp. 350-351).

6. *Auto* of Xavier, in *ibid.*, f. 86 (*infra*, II, p. 352).

fifty to seventy men as far as Cochití, now receded from that position and admitted that practically all that could be accomplished by so doing would be to burn the pueblos of San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochití, all of which had already been sacked. Of greater importance than this was the protection which they owed to the natives of Isleta. Accordingly, he now opposed any division of their forces.⁷ In the same junta of December 23, Mendoza had been in favor of the whole force pushing on as far as Santo Domingo. He, too, receded from his former position, and, in view of the general situation, thought that it was more imperative to safeguard their Isleta wards and then to retreat to El Paso. There the horses and weary soldiers could be allowed to recuperate until the end of July when he thought the time would be opportune for returning to punish and to conquer the apostates.⁸

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE; THE BURNING OF ISLETA

On January 1, 1682, Otermín issued an *auto* announcing the plans which he had decided upon following the opinions expressed in the junta of the preceding day. Briefly, these plans were to cross the river at once to the pueblo of Isleta, and by kindness and good treatment to induce the natives to take out a sufficient supply of clothes, provisions, and other things necessary for their journey to El Paso, where they were to be assisted in making settlements and instructed in the Christian faith. All of the grain and other things that could not be carried along were to be burned, as well as the entire pueblo and the estufa, "in order that they might not be a watchtower and shelter for the apostates." The retreat to El Paso was to be made in good order and care was to be taken that none of the Indians should desert. Upon arrival at El Paso, a full account was to be sent to the viceroy.⁹

Having announced his future plan of action, Otermín ex-

7. Opinion of Nicolás Rodríguez Rey in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 88 (*infra*, II, pp. 352-353).

8. Opinion of Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, in *ibid.*, f. 90 (*infra*, II, pp. 353-354).

9. "Auto de determinacion de pareceres de juntta," in *ibid.*, f. 92 (*infra*, II, pp. 354-356).

tended formal thanks to Father Ayeta for his kindness and liberality in offering to furnish, at personal sacrifice to himself and the other religious, hardtack, animals, chocolate, and sugar for seventy men in case it had been decided to equip an expedition for further offensive operations against the apostates.

After this Otermín and fifty other soldiers mounted their horses and crossed the river to Isleta. There the natives were assembled and it was found that of the five hundred and eleven persons who had been captured in the siege of that pueblo, and later absolved by Father Ayeta, only three hundred and eighty-five of all ages, sexes, and sizes remained, the rest having joined the apostates. These three hundred and eighty-five Indians were required to cross the river to the Spanish camp, taking with them from their houses all the clothes and provisions that they could. As many as were possible were stored in the wagons and outfits of the mule trains. Fire was then applied, first to the estufa, which had been built in the main plaza, and then to the entire pueblo, the whole day being employed in this work of destruction. Besides the pueblo, more than one thousand fanegas of corn and a large quantity of *frijol* were burned. After this work had been completed, Otermín and his soldiers recrossed the river to the camp "having under good guard and custody the said three hundred and eighty-five persons and eight imprisoned vagrants, all of whom he [Otermín] has ordered to be treated with all kindness and care."¹⁰

THE EXAMINATION OF AN INDIAN PRISONER

That evening about five o'clock, after having returned to the camp across the river from Isleta, the alférez, Alonso García, came in with a Tigua Indian prisoner, who stated that he had come from the apostate junta. Otermín had the prisoner put in chains and at the same time arranged to have him absolved in order that he might be capable of swearing and that his declaration might be recorded. As interpreters were necessary, Captain Joseph de Leiva Nebárez and Josephe de Apodaca were sworn for this duty.

The testimony of this Indian, Gerónimo by name, a native

10. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 92-93 (*infra*, II, pp. 357-358).

of Puaray and a gardener by profession, was most interesting and highly significant at the time. In answer to the question where he had come from, who had sent him, and for what purpose, Gerónimo replied that he had come from the sierra of Los Jemez, that the natives of Alameda, Puaray, Sandia, Santa Ana, and Sia had gathered there and that a little farther on the natives of Jemez had congregated. He stated that, of his own free will, "without pressure or force," and without having been sent by any one, he had come to the camp, moved by a desire to be a Christian and tired of the bad life he had been leading among the apostates. For this reason, and because his wife was in the service of Father Gómez de la Cadena at San Lorenzo, he had come to advise the governor to be on his guard because "all the said people and those who are on the sierra of Cochití and in other districts were continually treating of making an attack by night upon the animals of this army in order to make away with them, and, leaving the Spaniards on foot, to kill them." The assembled Indians who were very content without religious or Spaniards were only waiting to make this attack until they could be joined by the Indians from Zúñi and Moqui. He further declared that for reasons of mutual defense the Tigua of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia, because their pueblos had been burned, had treated of settling in the jurisdiction of La Cañada; that the Queres of Santa Ana had discussed joining with those of Sia; while the natives of San Felipe and Santo Domingo were planning to unite in Cochití.

When asked why the apostates had ignored Otermín's summons to come and confer with him, especially after it was seen that the natives of Isleta, following the capture of that pueblo, had been treated so well, Gerónimo stated that the Indian emissary whom Otermín had sent to confer with the apostates had told him that he had come to pacify them. But the revolvers had told him that they did not desire to make peace because they were at enmity with the Indians of Isleta, and that, because the latter had submitted to the Spaniards, the apostates were not willing to admit them in their juntas.¹¹

11. "Nonbramto" of interpreters, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 94 (*infra*, II, p. 359); "declasion (del Indio Gerónimo)," in *ibid.*, ff. 94-95 (*infra*, II, pp. 359-361).

XVI. THE RETREAT FROM ISLETA TO ESTERO LARGO

On January 2, 1682, the Spaniards broke camp opposite Isleta and began the retreat down the river, searching for and collecting firewood as they proceeded. After having gone about a league from Isleta, a halt was called for the night. From that camping place the march was resumed, evidently on January 3. Soon after they started, large snowflakes began to fall. Snow continued to fall throughout most of the day, but the march was uninterrupted, and about sundown a halt was called at a small hill known as Tomé. From there, on January 5, the Spaniards marched to a place mentioned as El Pueblo del Alto. The next day, January 6, it being Epiphany, six Indian prisoners, who had been captured after having escaped from Isleta and returned to apostasy, were absolved. Four of these were Piros who had come from Acoma, and two were Queres who had been captured about two leagues from Isleta. Mass was said at that place, and, because of the significance of the day, the march was not begun until noon. After some repairs had been made on the wagons, the journey was continued as far as the vega of Las Nutrias.¹

While at the latter place, Juan and Josephe, the two Indian spies, who at midnight of December 17 had entered the camp of Mendoza's division when it was a short distance below San Felipe and warned them that the Indians under Don Luis Tupatú were preparing to attack them, removed the chains from their feet and stole out of camp. Soldiers were sent in pursuit of the fugitives, but they were unable to overtake them.² The desertion of these two Indians is worthy of note. For it will be remembered that it was with the boldest assertions of loyalty to the Spanish cause that Juan and Josephe, who claimed to be members of a spying expedition under the leadership of Don Luis Tupatú, first entered the Spanish camp. Later they were absolved and,

1. *Auto of Xavier*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 95 (*infra*, II, p. 362).

2. *Auto of Xavier*, in *ibid.*, ff. 95-96 (*infra*, II, pp. 362-363).

each one professing Christianity, made a long confession and declaration to Governor Otermín, to whom they reaffirmed that their loyalty to the Spanish cause had been their chief motive for deserting the apostates and betraying the latter's plans to their former masters. In view of their escape after the Spaniards were well started on their retreat from the country, these assigned reasons can well be questioned. It is not too much to suggest that perhaps the two Indians had only come, or perhaps been sent, for the purpose of exciting the Spaniards in the hope that they would sooner withdraw. As soon as their mission had been accomplished, it was but natural that they would want to return to their people. Taking for granted that such had been the purpose of Juan and Josephe, it cannot be denied that their mission had proved highly successful from the very first.

On January 8 the army left the vega of Las Nutrias and halted for the night a short distance above the pueblo of Sevilleta. On January 9, the Spaniards retreated all day and part of the night in order to pass the Vueltas de Acomilla, since the route lay very near the river, thereby making the district very dangerous to camp in. Two wagon wheels were broken and in order to repair them it was necessary to remain in camp all of the next day, January 10.⁸

On January 11, the Spaniards resumed the march. The route was up the hill of Acomilla and then down to the pueblo of Alamillo. As they reached the summit of the hill, snow began to fall, but the Spaniards continued to push on, and, in spite of many difficulties, by traveling all that day and night finally reached Alamillo. On January 12 the weather was severe, and because of much snow and wind, they did not leave Alamillo until January 13. That day it was only with the greatest difficulty that the journey was continued, on account of so much snow being on the ground, but by dint of much effort a hill opposite El Nogal was finally reached. From there, on January 14, the army marched to a place in sight of the pueblo of Socorro. Just before passing the last bend of the river they were forced to halt because of the mules being too tired to pull the wagons farther. At that place the *maestre de campo*, Pedro

8. *Auto of Xavier*, in *Autos Perteneccientes*, ff. 95-96 (*infra*, II, pp. 362-363).

de Leiva, announced that, since leaving Isleta, more than seventy horses and some of the wagon mules had either perished or become too weak for further service. Before reaching this place, Otermín had met with an accident which had resulted in a swelling of the foot and leg. He was also suffering from an affection of the head, due to so much exposure in the severe winter weather.⁴

On January 15, the retreat was continued, the countryside being covered with snow and the air very cold. That day the vega of the Río del Norte, just beyond the bends of the river opposite the pueblo of Socorro, was reached. There a halt was made for the rest of the day in order to bring across two bells from Socorro. These were stored in the wagons, and, on January 16, the Spaniards marched to the hacienda of Luis López. From there, on January 17, they marched to the site of the ruined pueblo of Qualacú. They remained there for the rest of the day on account of the severe cold and the great amount of fallen snow. While at that place, announcement was made that two more of the horses had succumbed on the journey.⁵ On January 17, in spite of the snow, the Spaniards retreated from Qualacú as far as another ruined pueblo known as San Pasqual, within sight of Senecú. On the way two more horses and two head of cattle succumbed.⁶

On January 19, a halt was made opposite the pueblo of Senecú in order to get three bells and a small bronze cannon that were at the pueblo, all of which were brought across and stored in the wagons. From there, on January 20, the day of San Sebastián, the march continued to El Contadero. In order to reach that place that night it was necessary, on account of so much snow on the ground and the lateness of the hour, to put extra teams to the wagons. On January 21, Fray Cristóbal was reached. On January 22, the route lay to a place called Las Tusas. Although on the up trip scarcely any water was found in the desert district, more than thirty-two leagues in extent, which they were in, the whole country was at that time covered

4. *Ibid.*, f. 96 (*infra*, II, p. 363).

5. Auto of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 96 (*infra*, II, p. 364).

6. *Ibid.*, ff. 96-97 (*infra*, II, p. 364).

with four inches of snow, "Therefore water was not lacking for the animals."

On January 23, a place called El Alto de Las Tusas was reached; on the 25th, La Cruz de Anaya; on the 26th, the height opposite the little hill known as Madrid; on the 27th, the Laguna del Muerto; on the 28th, Las Peñuelas; on the 29th, La Cruz de Alemán; on the 30th, El Perrillo; and on the 31st, San Diego. Throughout the entire journey from La Cruz de Anaya to San Diego, thirty-seven mules and seven horses were reported to have perished.⁷ It is interesting to note that whereas on the up trip this desert district was crossed by forced marches in the short time of two days and one night, it took, on the retreat, from January 22 to January 31 to traverse the same district.

Leaving San Diego on the first day of February, the army marched until late in the evening in order to reach the river at the place called Robledo. There, on February 2, mass was said, and, after repairing two wagon wheels, the march was continued to Robledo el Chico, one league farther on. From there, on February 3, the march lay to a place on the bank of the river called La Yerba del Manso. On February 4, Doña Ana was reached. There Otermín arranged to go in person to a sierra, about six leagues distant and in sight, known as Los Organos. Otermín had two objects in view in visiting this sierra. The first was to ascertain if there was any wood there suitable for building the churches and casas reales for the settlements which he was contemplating establishing; the second was to drive away the Apaches who lived in that vicinity. This sierra was reached on the 5th and was thoroughly explored. The mountain, which was very high, was found to be very rugged and rocky. With the exception of some small pines, no wood worth mentioning was found. A large cave in a huge rock was discovered, both within and in front of which were found hearths where the Apaches had built their fires during their stay there. On the 7th, Otermín and his escort left the mountain and at a late hour that night reached the camp which by then had been located at Los Charcos de Fray Blas. From that place, on Feb-

7. *Ibid.*, f. 97 (*infra*, II, pp. 364-365).

ruary 8, the entire force marched to Estero Redondo. The next day they set out for Estero Largo, but on account of the weakness of the wagon teams that place was not reached. On that day the loss of fifteen animals and seven head of cattle was recorded.⁸

By February 11, Estero Largo had been reached. While there, Francisco Xavier received a letter from Father Nicolás Hurtado at El Paso which contained the first recorded information that the members of the expedition had received concerning the situation there and at San Lorenzo since their departure.⁹

The same day, February 11, Otermín closed the *autos* of the expedition which he had been keeping with a formal *auto* of transmission addressed to the viceroy. In this *auto*, Otermín advised the viceroy that he was sending him the *autos* contained in one hundred and three folios, written on in whole or in part. At the same time, Francisco Xavier was instructed to make copies of the whole series of *autos* "in order that they may be filed with the other transcripts of the remitments which I have made since the revolt, so that it may be evident for all time."¹⁰

It will be remembered that at the estancia of Las Barrancas, shortly before the capture of Isleta, Otermín issued a bando to govern the disposition of whatever property might be acquired on the expedition. By request of Otermín, while at Estero Largo on February 11, Francisco Xavier made a legal statement to the effect that none of the members of the Mendoza expedition which had advanced as far as the sierra of La Cieneguilla and had sacked the pueblos en route, had in any manner conformed to the instructions of the bando, but, on the other hand, disclaiming any knowledge of it, had retained for themselves all the property acquired, at the same time conducting themselves "with audacious impudence and effrontery."¹¹ The same day Otermín in a letter to the viceroy called the latter's attention to the fact that up to that time none of Mendoza's men had ex-

8. *Auto* of Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 97-98 (*infra*, II, pp. 365-366).

9. Hurtado to Xavier, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 99 (*infra*, II, pp. 366-367).

10. "Auto de Remisión," in *ibid.*, f. 102 (*infra*, II, p. 370).

11. *Auto* of Xavier, in *ibid.*, f. 98 (*infra*, II, pp. 367-368).

hibited any thing acquired by them while on the expedition, "as was ordered, so that to each might be given whatever might appear to be his. This (with others) is an offense so general that at present there is no remedy for it."¹²

12. Otermín to the viceroy, February 11, 1682, in *ibid.*, ff. 104-105 (*infra*, II, p. 372).

XVII. THE RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION

With the arrival of the Spaniards at Estero Largo and the closing of the series of *autos* with the governor's formal *auto de remisión*, the narrative of the events of the expedition is closed. For although it was forty leagues from the camp of San Lorenzo and about twenty-eight leagues from El Paso, no record of the completion of the journey from Estero Largo was kept. It will not be out of place, therefore, at this time to give a brief summary of some of the results and achievements of the expedition.

One of the most significant results of the expedition, the leader and members of which on February 11 were again nearing the El Paso settlements, was the realization by the Spaniards of the fallacy of the idea which they had held that the Pueblos, repentant for their crimes and tired of the oppression of the Apaches and of their own overbearing chieftains, would welcome their return, or, at least, would submit to their authority without much, if any, resistance. It will be remembered that in the junta de guerra of December 23, Father Ayeta had been the first to discuss this matter. In a letter to the viceroy dated February 11, 1682, Governor Otermín gave his version of the reasons for the failure of the expedition.¹

From now on, therefore, there could be no mistake concerning the earnestness of the Pueblos in their strike for freedom, and Otermín recorded his belief that a large and well-trained force would be necessary to reconquer the country. In the same letter he assured the viceroy that, in view of the hostility and perfidy of the natives, it might well be counted miraculous that the force which he had commanded had been able to escape from the Pueblos, since it had been in their power to execute a "fatality more lamentable than the preceding one." He also informed the viceroy that he considered it quite impossible to return to settle the country as it had been, and to conserve it

1. Otermín to the viceroy, February 11, 1682, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 104 (*infra*, II, p. 371).

with "these people," even though their number should be much larger.²

The actual achievements of the expedition were summarized, though briefly, by Otermín himself.³ Concerning the military operations, little of praise can be said. Of the four Piro pueblos south of Isleta, all were found deserted. The Isleta Indians, the first to be encountered, made, it is true, a small show of resistance. But since they had not taken part in the revolt, and also because they were at enmity with the apostates, they could hardly have been expected to make much resistance. All of the six pueblos north of Isleta that were either sacked or burned, had also been deserted. The offensive operations of Mendoza and his seventy men on their expedition, as far as La Cieneguilla, amounted to nothing. By parleys and false pretenses, the Indians under Catití and Tupatú beguiled the Spaniards into giving them more time to accede to their demands. As a result, their force was strengthened in the meantime, and when the Spaniards realized that they had been duped they beat a hasty retreat south to join Otermín's division. It is worthy of comment that aside from Isleta, not a single skirmish with the Indians is reported, and no death, or even wounding, of a single person on either side is noted.

Of signal importance was the removal of the Isleta Indians to El Paso, for the removal of these 385 Indians⁴ increased the necessity of conserving the El Paso settlements, and therefore

2. *Ibid.*, f. 105 (*infra*, II, p. 372).

3. "Auto de Remisión," in *Autos Pertenecientes*, f. 101 (*infra*, II, pp. 369-370).

4. Miss Anne Hughes ("The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District," in *University of California Publications in History*, vol. I, p. 320) is wrong in stating that when Estero Largo was reached only 305 of the 385 Indians who had set out from Isleta with the Spaniards, remained, the rest, she says, having deserted. Out of justice to Miss Hughes it should be stated that the confusion resulting in the above-mentioned error doubtless arose from the fact that the copy of the "Auto de Remisión," which she used in this connection reads as follows: "Y abiendolos Vuelto, a contar halle *trecientas Y cinco* de todas edades," while the verified copy which I have used and also the mss. copy in the Bancroft Collection reads: "... *trecientas Y ochenta Y cinco* de todas edades." Since this *auto* of transmission, cited by Miss Hughes, was written at Estero Largo, whereas the statement had previously been made at Isleta that 385 Indians did start with the Spaniards, it was but natural for her to suppose that some eighty of them had deserted, when, as a matter of fact, they had only been overlooked by the verifier of the transcripts.

helped to guarantee their permanence. But at the same time it complicated the Indian situation there, already sufficiently precarious, all of which forms a most interesting chapter in the history of this northern outpost of Spanish colonization.

Finally, while the Spaniards on this expedition got to within ten leagues of Santa Fe, and although they burned eight pueblos and sacked three others, it can be said that the real body of apostates had hardly been disturbed. All of the burned pueblos were those of the Piros and Tigua nations. None of the former had been invited to take part in the revolt, and only three pueblos of the latter, Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia, participated. The retaliatory damage inflicted on the Queres nation, if retribution was the chief object, as it seemed to have been after Otermín was convinced of the obstinacy of the apostates, was very slight. And the real exponents of rebellion, the Tewa, Taos, Picurís, and Jemez Indians were not molested in the slightest. To have conquered only 511 out of more than 16,000 apostates, the former being Indians who had not taken up arms against the Spaniards, cannot be considered as a very extraordinary accomplishment. To have assured for Christianity, as Otermín and Father Ayeta stated, 385 of these 511 prisoners was of more importance. On the whole, the results of the expedition may, from the standpoint of the Spaniards, be regarded as sadly disappointing.

**THE INTIMATE STORY OF THE PUEBLO
REVOLT, AS TOLD IN THE
CONTEMPORARY
RECORDS**

PART I

*Autos Drawn Up as a Result of the Rebellion of the Christian Indians. [Santa Fe, August 9, 1680.]*¹

In the villa of Santa Fe, New Mexico, capital of this kingdom and these provinces, on the ninth day of the month of August, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and the provinces of New Mexico for his Majesty, states: That he has just received three messages, one from the reverend father visitador, Fray Juan Bernal, another from the father preacher, Fray Fernando de Velasco, and the third from Captain Marcos de Dehezas, alcalde mayor and war captain of the jurisdiction of Los Taos, all of which messages notify his lordship that the Christian Indians of this kingdom are convoked, allied, and confederated for the purpose of rebelling, forsaking obedience to his Majesty, and apostatizing from the holy faith; and that they desire to kill the ecclesiastical ministers and all the Spaniards, women, and children, destroying the whole population of this kingdom. They are to execute this treason and uprising on the thirteenth of the current month, as they have disposed and planned among themselves. All this has become known through the Indian governors and captains of the pueblos of Tagnos [Tanos], San Marcos, and La Ciénega, who likewise have appeared in this villa to report the aforesaid, saying that they had learned of it through two Indians, natives of the pueblo of Tesuque of the Tegua nation, one named Nicolás Catua and the other Pedro Omtua. They declared, alike through the said three messages as well as through the governors and captains of Tanos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega, that they had come, sent by the said Tanos, to convoke and advise the Indians of the said uprising and treason. All the nations of this kingdom were now implicated in it, forming a

1. *Autos tocantes al Alsamiento de Los Yndios de la Provincia de la Nueva Mexico*, Archivo General y Público, México, Sección de Provincias Internas, Tomo 37. These translations have been made from a transcript of this expediente in the possession of Dr. Charles W. Hackett. Unless otherwise indicated, the documents that follow, to the end of part I, are from the same source.

confederation with the heathen Apaches so that, on the night of the thirteenth of the current month, they might carry out their disobedience, perfidious treason, and atrocities. The said señor governor and captain-general, having heard all this, with the haste which the matter demands dispatched Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo to the said pueblo of Tesuque to arrest the said two Indians of Tesuque. Then, without any delay whatever, the said señor governor and captain-general sent his orders and notices of the matter to all the alcaldes mayores of the jurisdictions of this kingdom, so that they might exercise the care that the case demands. In pursuance and execution of the said order, there appeared under arrest in these casas reales the said two Indians of Tesuque mentioned in this *auto*, from each of whom his lordship, in order to proceed juridically with the case and to learn the truth regarding the uprising, received the oath in legal form, before God, our Lord, and a sign of the holy cross, they being informed of its seriousness through the interpretation of Agustín Griego, a Spaniard who speaks the language of the said Teguas Indians. They being given to understand that they have been arrested for going to the pueblos of San Cristóbal and to Los Pecos, sent by the people of their nation and on behalf of all the other nations to discuss the treason and rebellion in which they were engaged, in order to carry it out on the night of the thirteenth against the clergy and the Spaniards generally, both of them in their replies stated that they were sent by two Indians of Tesuque named Pedro Situ and Diego Misu, by whom they were charged strictly to be diligent and to go with all secrecy, they giving them a deerskin thong with two knots in it, which signified the two days intervening before the execution of their treason. Being asked what reason or motive they had for rebelling and losing respect for God and obedience to his Majesty, they replied that they knew nothing because they were youths, and that among the old men many juntas had been held with the Indians of San Juan, Santa Clara, Nambé, Soxuaque [Pojoaque], Emex [Jemez], and other nations. They said that the most that has come to their knowledge is that it is a matter of common report among all the Indians that there had come to them from very far away toward

the north a letter from an Indian lieutenant of Po he yemu to the effect that all of them in general should rebel, and that any pueblo that would not agree to it they would destroy, killing all the people. It was reported that this Indian lieutenant of Po he yemu was very tall, black, and had very large yellow eyes, and that everyone feared him greatly. They state that they have declared all they know; that it is true that the Indians of San Cristóbal were unwilling to receive the message they brought and reported it to the rest of their nation, which is why it has come to the notice of the señor governor and captain-general. What they have stated is the truth and what they know, under burden of their oath, which they affirm and ratify, their statements being read to them and explained through the interpreter. They did not know their ages nor how to sign. His lordship signed it with Alcalde Juan Lucero, Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo, and Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana, who served as witnesses, so that they might proceed immediately without any delay to adopt measures that are conducive to the service of the two Majesties. He so provided, ordered, and signed it before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); FRANCISCO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto [of Antonio de Otermin. Santa Fe, August 10, 1680].

In the said villa of Santa Fe on the 10th day of the month of August, 1680. At about seven o'clock in the morning there appeared in this villa Pedro Hidalgo, a resident of it, who came in flight from the pueblo of Tesuque, because of having escaped from the Indian natives and those of the pueblo of Cura Mungue [Cuyamunque] of the Tegua nation. The said Pedro Hidalgo states that, coming in company with the father preacher, Fray Juan Pío, to say mass for the said Indians, the latter assailed Father Fray Juan Pío and Pedro Hidalgo and killed the father; and the said Pedro Hidalgo escaped. In order to verify the truth of this, I order the person named herein to appear so that he may affirm and declare under oath what he

saw and learned, and what happened to him. I so provided, ordered, and signed, before the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Declaration of Pedro Hidalgo, soldier. [Santa Fe, August 10, 1680.]

In the villa of Santa Fe, on the said day, month, and year, for the continuation of these *autos*, his lordship caused to appear before him Pedro Hidalgo, soldier, a resident of this villa, from whom he received the oath in due legal form before God, our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under charge of which he promised to tell the truth concerning what he might know and as he might be questioned. Having been told to state and declare what happened to him, what he saw, and what he learned, as regards himself and the father preacher, Fray Juan Pío, and the Teguas Indians of Tesuque, he said that what happened is that, this witness having set out from this villa at dawn this morning in company with the father preacher, Fray Juan Pío, for the pueblo of Tesuque, they reached it by daylight and found the said pueblo empty of people and of the few cattle which the Indians had; and that this witness and the said father passing on in search of the people of the pueblo, because the father was going to say mass for them, they came up with the people about a quarter of a league from the said pueblo, where they found many Indians wearing war paint, with their bows, arrows, lances, and shields. The said father went up to them, saying, "What is this, children; are you mad? Do not disturb yourselves; I will help you and die a thousand deaths for you." The said father and this witness with him went on to summon and detain the mass of the people who were going toward the sierra, so that they would go back to the pueblo where he could say mass for them. The said father went on to one side toward a ravine, telling this witness to go by the ridge to intercept the said people. In a little while he saw an Indian named El Obi come out of the ravine with the shield which the said father had been carrying, and he saw also the interpreter of the pueblo, named Nicolás, painted with clay and

spattered with blood. These Indians and others assailed the witness, grasping the reins of the horse he was riding; they surrounded him, taking away his sword and hat, whereupon he grasped his harquebus, and, making good his escape, spurred his horse down the hill, dragging along those who had hold of him. He broke away from them and descended to the plain, where they followed him, discharging many arrows, none of which reached or harmed him, and he escaped safely. Seeing that the said father preacher, Fray Juan Pío, did not again appear, he judged him to be dead, whereupon he came to this villa as quickly as possible to give the news. The witness knew that, on the evening before, the said Indians had killed Cristóbal de Herrera. What he has said is the truth, and what happened and what he saw; under charge of his oath he affirms and ratifies his statement, it being read to him. He declares he is about thirty years of age, and signs with the señor governor and captain-general before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); PEDRO HIDALGO (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto [of Antonio de Otermín. Santa Fe, August 10, 1680].

Then immediately, on the said day, month, and year stated above, his lordship, the señor governor and captain-general, said: That he has sent his orders to the alcaldes mayores to the effect that they give the news in their districts and go to the defense of the holy temples, to prevent their being profaned by the enemy, and that such a force of soldiers as they can muster be raised as quickly as possible, since the settlers are widely separated from one another on their estancias; and so that the same care and vigilance may be maintained in the villa, he ordered the secretary of government and war to have assembled in these casas reales all the people and families of the villa, its jurisdiction, and environs, so that together we can defend ourselves and oppose the enemy if the occasion shall arise. There are to be brought out immediately all the harquebuses, blunderbusses, swords, daggers, shields, and munitions which are in the armory and magazine, given by his Majesty,

to arm and equip the youths who have none, so that they may come with them into his Majesty's royal service. Guards, watches, and sentries are to be stationed to meet any emergency that may arise in the royal service, and likewise a squad shall be placed on guard in the church for the protection and custody of the holy sacrament and the images, sacred vessels, and things pertaining to divine worship. All this shall be done by the secretary, Francisco Xavier, alcalde ordinario of this villa. ¹ so provided, ordered, and signed it before the said secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). By order of his lordship. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Certification. [Santa Fe, August 10, 1680.]

I, Francisco Xavier, secretary of government and war of these provinces, alcalde ordinario de primer voto of this villa, certify and attest that within a period of about four hours the above mandate of the señor governor and captain-general was executed, and that all is arranged and disposed as his lordship orders. So that it may be recorded, I give this certification and sign it with two witnesses, who are Captain Francisco Xavier and Alferez Juan de Carbajal y Cangas. Witness, FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); witness, JUAN DE CANGAS (rubric). In testimony whereof I affix my accustomed sign and rubric. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Judicial process and declaration. [Santa Fe, August 10, 1680.]

In the said villa on the said day, month, and year. At about five o'clock in the afternoon there arrived at this villa Alferez Nicolás Lucero and Antonio Gómez, soldiers, who came fleeing through the mountains, because of enemy rebels of the Teguá nation having come out upon them, attempting to kill them on the road, discharging many arrows at them, and shooting a carbine at the said alferez. The soldiers were sent by the alcalde mayor of Los Taos with a report of the conspiracy and rebellion of the Indians of that nation and of Pecuríes. When the said men reached the jurisdiction of La Cañada, Sargento

1. The construction of the document changes from the third to the first person. The same change occurs in many of the documents that follow.

Mayor Luis de Quintana, its alcalde mayor, sent me word by them that in the pueblo of Santa Clara the Indians had killed on Friday—correction, Saturday—at daybreak, Felipe López and Marcos Ramos, soldiers who were serving as escort, with six other men, under the officer, Captain Francisco de Anaya. They caught all of them, attacking them treacherously under promise of safety. The said officer and five others escaped with the horse drove that they had been watching over in the pasture, and the said Marcos Ramos and Felipe López were left dead. The said alcalde mayor, Luis de Quintana, also advised that he has assembled all the people of his jurisdiction at his house and that in the pueblo of Santa Clara there have gathered a large number of the rebellious Christians, alike from the pueblos of the Teguas and from Los Jemez, and that the said Indians are going out in mounted squadrons and gathering up the cattle and property from the fields and houses of the Spaniards, committing such iniquities, atrocities, and robberies quite shamelessly. So that this may be recorded, I order it set down as a judicial proceeding, and I order that Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez go with a squadron of Spanish soldiers to La Cañada to see and inquire into what has happened, alike in that jurisdiction and in all the pueblos of Tesuque, Cuyamunque, Pojoaque, and the rest, in order to ascertain the damages and atrocious murders which the treacherous rebels have committed and to provide the remedy which is most convenient. I so provided, ordered, and signed, with the said Nicolás Lucero and Antonio Gómez, before the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); NICOLÁS LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); ANTONIO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto and declaration of Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez.
[Santa Fe, August 12, 1680.]

In the said villa of Santa Fe on the 12th day of the month of August, 1680, there appeared in this villa Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo, whom the señor governor and captain-general sent to reconnoiter the pueblos and jurisdiction

of Los Teguas and Cañada in order to learn what had happened in the said jurisdiction. Having seen and inspected it with the body of Spanish soldiers whom he took under his command, he said that all the people of the pueblos from Tesuque to San Juan are in rebellion, and a large number of them are fortified in the pueblo of Santa Clara and the rest are in the sierra of the arroyo of Tesuque and scattered about along the caminos reales, intercepting the passage of every one. He says that they have killed Fathers Fray Luis de Morales and Fray Tomás de Torres, and that the Indians of Santa Clara have carried off the wife and children of Captain Francisco de Anaya. He found that they have killed, in the pueblo of Pojoaque, Captain Francisco Ximenes, Don Joseph de Goitia, and the wife and family of Francisco Ximenes; and that there was no sign of Doña Petronila de Salas and eight or ten children whom she has, three boys, now grown, and the rest young children and grown daughters. Sebastián de Torres, his wife, and other persons, are likewise dead, in the pueblo of Nambé; and, in the pueblo of Santa Clara, the Indians have killed Felipe López and Marcos Ramos and have robbed the holy temples and the cattle haciendas of the countryside, and sacked the houses of the Spaniards. They have rebelled generally and also have killed two other youths named Cristóbal de Herrera and Bartolomé Griego, so that in these pueblos alone more than thirty persons are dead and captives. This declarant and his companions killed one of the Indians who are going up and down, patrolling the roads and trails; although they admonished and required him repeatedly to surrender peaceably, saying that they did not wish to harm him, he said pertinaciously and rebelliously that he wished to die and go to hell. What the deponent has stated is the truth and what he has seen, and if necessary he swears to it in the name of God and the Virgin. He signs with his lordship, before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRANCISCO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto. [Santa Fe, August 13, 1680.]

In the said villa of Santa Fe on the 13th day of the month of August, 1680, the señor governor and captain-general, Don Antonio de Otermín, stated: That there is apparent both the manifest danger in which his lordship and the people of this villa find themselves, and the danger to the church and convent due to the small force of soldiers here; and the fact that the enemy is aiming to put an end to all of them, having yesterday at noon fallen upon all the people of the estancias and haciendas of Los Cerrillos who were fighting together, besieged in the house of Sargento Mayor Bernabé Márquez, who sent to ask help in order to be able to get out with the rest of the families and come to this villa to join us. I sent him last night a relief party of Spaniards, both for the said purpose and because the report has come from the enemy themselves that all the Tagnos, Pecos, Ciénega, and San Marcos Indians have rebelled, and it is said that they have killed the reverend father custodian, Fray Juan Bernal, and the father preachers, Fray Fernando de Velasco, Fray Manuel Tinoco, and Fray Domingo de Vera, together with the teniente de alcalde mayor, Juan de Leiva, Captain Joseph Nieto, Nicolás de Leiva, and all the women and children of their families. There is also a general report that in the pueblo of Santo Domingo they have killed three religious, Alcalde Mayor Andrés de Peralta, and four other soldiers who were with them; and that the same thing has taken place in the other jurisdictions, because the convocation is general; and the said Indians have taken possession of the horse droves and cattle of the kingdom, and of the churches and sacred objects. Foreseeing that all the nations will join together to destroy this villa, his lordship determined to notify the reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, to consume the most holy sacrament, and take the images, sacred vessels, and things appertaining to divine worship, close the church and convent, and bring everything to the palace, accompanied by Father Fray Francisco Farfán. He decided also that Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana and all the people of La Cañada who are with him be summoned, and that they bring the few horses and cattle they may have, so that they may resist the fury of the

enemy in this villa; and he is notifying Lieutenant General Alonso García to send such aid as he can in the way of horses and soldiers. These casas reales are to be immediately intrenched, embrasures are to be made in the walls, watches set, and harquebusiers stationed on the roofs. The two small pieces of ordnance will be placed in the doors of the casas reales, charged and mounted on their carriages, and aimed at the entrances of the streets, so that they may be pointed wherever the enemy may attack. All the above was ordered and carried out immediately, without any delay, making ready for the enemy's assault in the prosecution of their treason. So that all this may be recorded, he ordered it set down as a judicial proceeding and signed it before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto and judicial process. [Santa Fe, August 13-20, 1680.]

In the said villa of Santa Fe on the said day, month, and year, his lordship the governor and captain-general being extremely uneasy because of reports that were current of the deaths of the Reverend Father Antonio and the other religious, clerics, and Spaniards mentioned in the preceding *auto*; and having reason to believe that the Tagnos and Pecos Indians, through whom he had the news of the treason and uprising, had rebelled and perpetrated the said murders in the pueblo of Galisteo, and killed Fray Juan de la Pedrosa in the pueblo of Los Pecos; and having dispatched two Indian servants of Spaniards to carry an order to the alcalde mayor of Galisteo, who have not returned in three days; as well as having sent Lucas de Gamboa, a soldier, with another order to Alonso García, the lieutenant general of the jurisdictions of the lower river [Río Abajo], he determined to place confidence in two Christian Indians, one of them a resident of this villa and married here, and the other a native of the pueblo of San Felipe, so that, being Indians of the said nations whom their own people would not harm, they might inquire and learn what had happened in the two jurisdictions of Tagnos and Queres, and bring a true account, as Christians, of all they

might ascertain, he promising them many presents and doing everything possible to gain their good will. In virtue of this they promised to do what he wished, and were dispatched with that understanding. While awaiting them—both in order to learn what had happened and because they were carrying the said letters and orders, in case the *alcaldes mayores* and other persons should be alive—it happened that on the next morning the two Indians who had been sent with the letter for the father custodian and the *alcalde mayor* came fleeing from the countryside, bringing the news that all the Indians of the pueblos of Los Pecos, San Cristóbal, San Lázaro, San Marcos, Galisteo, and La Ciénega, who numbered more than five hundred, were one league from this villa on the way to attack it and destroy the governor and all the Spaniards, so that the whole kingdom might be theirs, and they might profit at the expense of the Spaniards and their haciendas. They were saying that now God and Santa María were dead, that they were the ones whom the Spaniards worshiped, and that their own God whom they obeyed never died. The messengers reported also that the said Indian, Juan, the Tagno whom his lordship had sent, was coming as captain of these people, a rebel like the rest of them, as was seen. They were expecting to meet on their way all the Indians of Teguas, Taos, Pecuríes, and the heathen Apaches, so as to sack the said villa all together and kill within it the *señor* governor and captain-general, the religious, and all the citizens. On the morning of the next day the enemy's army was seen on the plain of the maize fields of San Miguel and in the houses of the Mexicans, which they sacked shamelessly and in which they lodged in order to lay siege to the villa, along with the rest of the people whom they were awaiting. A troop of soldiers going out to reconnoiter them saw the said Tagno, Juan, on horseback, wearing a sash of red taffeta which was recognized as being from the missal of the convent of Galisteo, and with *harquebus*, sword, dagger, leather jacket, and all the arms of the Spaniards. He was summoned and persuaded with fair words to enter the plaza of the villa to talk with the *señor* governor and captain-general, and being asked how he could do such a thing when his lordship had placed confidence in

him, he said that there was now no help for it; that everything he had said about the deaths of the father custodian and all the other Spaniards and religious was true, and that the Indians who were coming with him and those whom they were awaiting were coming to destroy the villa. They were bringing two crosses, one red and the other white, so that his lordship might choose. The red signified war and the white that the Spaniards would abandon the kingdom. His lordship admonished them that he desired to avoid the war, because it had not been of his seeking, and that if they would become quiet he would pardon the crimes they had committed, as they would not cease to be Christians or forsake obedience to his Majesty. They derided and ridiculed this reply and received the said Indian in their camp with trumpets and shouts, ringing the bells of the hermitage of San Miguel, spreading destruction among the houses of the district, and setting fire to the hermitage of San Miguel. Thereupon, seeing their audacity, boldness, and impudence, and all indications of warfare, without giving them time for the other nations to arrive to destroy the villa, his lordship sent a troop of soldiers to dislodge them from that place. Seeing the men leave the villa, the enemy fell upon them and fought them with such boldness and fury that the said señor governor and captain-general was obliged to go out in person with as many men as he could. The encounter lasted nearly all day, during which many of the enemy were killed and they wounded many of our men, because they came with the *harquebuses* and the arms which they had taken from the religious and the Spaniards, and were very well provided with powder and shot, with which, fortified in the houses, in which they made embrasures, they fought all day. When they were almost overcome, many Indians having been killed, a large number of animals taken away from them, and the houses in which they were being set on fire to destroy them, there arrived the relief of Teguas, Taos, and Pecuríes Indians who fell upon the villa from the other side. His lordship thereupon was forced to go to the rescue, leaving the Tagnos and Pecos, who were defeated, so that the new arrivals might not take possession of the villa. It being now almost sunset, the said Tagnos and Pecos fled, the Spaniards

and the villa still being besieged by the Teguas, Taos, and Pecuríes Indians, who, being bold and daring, gained an eminence behind the *casas reales* where they made their camp, firing many *harquebuses* at the men who were in the *casas reales* and who came out from there to reduce them to peace. They being unsuccessful, the Indians became even bolder, and in this manner got possession of the cultivated fields and the houses of the villa, which they sacked; and they ended by setting fire to the church, which burned down, and to the houses. Every day of the nine days which the siege lasted more and more people assembled, until the beasts and cattle which were in the *casas reales* began to die because we had been entirely cut off from water, of which we had none for two days and a night. Whereupon, seeing that we would surely perish shut up there and that the Indians, although he had repeatedly charged them to make peace, were bolder than ever—in proof of which they had taken the water away from us and had lodged within the villa, boasting of victory, that they had defeated us, and that we should all die the next day—his lordship agreed with the experienced persons among us to engage the enemy in a pitched battle on the following morning, since it would be a better and safer step to die fighting than of hunger and thirst, shut up within the *casas reales*. This being agreed upon and planned for sunrise the next morning, his lordship accordingly advanced with his small forces, and, invoking the name of the Virgin, Santa María, he routed and overran them, dislodging them from the streets and houses, where they were massacred with the loss of more than three hundred Indians, some *harquebuses*, a number of animals, and all their spoils and baggage; for more than fifteen hundred Indians of the army made up of all the nations of the kingdom were in flight, and forty-seven Indians were taken prisoners in the houses. The latter were executed, having first revealed the treason, saying that it had been planned a long time before by the Teguas Indians of the pueblo of Tesuque, and that now, in order to carry it out, they had the mandate of an Indian who lives a very long way from this kingdom, toward the north, from which region Montezuma came, and who is the lieutenant of Po he yemu; and that this person

ordered all the Indians to take part in the treason and rebellion, saying that they would kill immediately anyone who refused to agree to it. For fear of this they all joined together and coöperated in the said rebellion which they have carried out, killing the priests and the Spaniards, so that only the women and children would be left. They say that all the remaining men must be killed, even to male children at the breast, as they have done in other parts where they have been. Thus all these events have taken place in a period of nine full days, the enemy being destroyed in this time, and it having cost on our part the deaths of four soldiers, and of Maestre de Campo Andrés Gómez. The señor governor suffered two wounds, one in the face and the other a shot in the breast through his deerskin jacket. Many soldiers and youths among the Spaniards were wounded, with both shots and arrows. All seem to have been miraculously protected by the most serene Virgin Mary, who was invoked in the assaults and skirmishes.

So that all this may be recorded, his lordship ordered that it be placed in an *auto* and he signed it with the military officers, *alcaldes ordinarios* of the villa, and other persons. Done and concluded on the 20th day of the month of August, 1680. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRANCISCO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); DIEGO LÓPEZ SAMBRANO (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric); NICOLÁS LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); BARTOLOMÉ ROMERO DE PEDRASA (rubric); BACHILLER FRANCISCO DE VELASCO (rubric); FRANCISCO DE ANAYA (rubric); ANTONIO DE AYALA (rubric); BLAS GRIEGO (rubric); FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); LÁZARO DE MIZQUIA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto. [Santa Fe, August 21, 1680.]

In the said villa of Santa Fe, capital of this kingdom and these provinces, on the 21st day of the month of August, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this kingdom for his Majesty, stated: That yesterday, the 20th of the current month, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, the hostilities were ended with the rebellious and treasonable

Christian Indians who threw off obedience to his Majesty, apostatized from the holy faith, and have withdrawn in flight, leaving more than three hundred Indians dead in the vicinity, within and without this villa, there having been taken from them eleven firearms, in addition to eighty animals and other spoils of provisions and other things. Many Indians who were captured have declared that all the nations of the kingdom that laid siege to the villa were confederated with the heathen Apache enemy so that, going to the siege to join them, they might destroy his lordship, the religious, and all the Spaniards and persons who were besieged, who comprised the greater part of the kingdom. Many settlements have been laid waste and destroyed, and it is known that from Los Taos to the pueblo of Isleta, which is a distance of fifty-one leagues, all the people, religious, and Spaniards have perished, no other persons being alive except those who found themselves besieged within the *casas reales* of the villa, and there is information to the effect that the residents of Río Abajo have fortified themselves and assembled in the said pueblo of Isleta. For which reasons, and finding ourselves out of provisions, with very few horses, weary, and threatened by the enemy, and not being assured of water, or of defense, since the few horses and cattle are dying from being shut up day and night within the said *casas reales*—and on taking them out for water and to graze a little, it was necessary to leave the *casas reales* undefended because of the small number of soldiers, most of whom went out armed on horseback to guard and defend the said beasts and cattle—and because of many other inconveniences that followed, and of the holy church and all the houses of the Spaniards and the Mexican Indians and others being burned—for all these reasons, it was requested unanimously by the reverend father preachers, Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, minister guardián, and Fray Andrés Durán, definidor habitual, and Fray Francisco Farfán, all clerical ministers, and by the *alcaldes ordinarios*, military officers, and soldiers, that his lordship, looking to the better service of the two Majesties and the safety of the people, arms, horses, and cattle which have remained where it is not possible to maintain them, decide to withdraw, marching from

this villa in full military formation until reaching the pueblo of La Isleta, where it is said that the residents of Río Abajo are gathered with the lieutenant general of that jurisdiction. All the forces thus being united in one body, his lordship may resolve and determine upon what is best for the service of God, our Lord, and of his Majesty. In view of the fact that there are now more than a thousand persons within these casas reales, and that among all of them there are not a hundred men who can fight, all the rest being women and children who must necessarily march on foot through the countryside in sight of the enemy, they petition that the withdrawal therefore be carried out immediately, in order to improve their position, and before the enemy recovers from the losses they have sustained and can attack in force in the open country, and destroy so many families. It thereupon was determined, acceding to the opinions of the said reverend fathers and of all the other persons, to march to-day as much as a league from this villa into the open and unprotected country, and his lordship ordered that it be recorded as a judicial proceeding. He signed it with his reverence and the alcaldes and military officers, before me, the secretary of government and war. His lordship ordered the present secretary to supply the people who are in these casas reales from goods which are his own property, so that, clothed and fed, they may be better able to march; and he directed that he load the munitions and stores for supplying the soldiers. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRAY FRANCISCO GÓMEZ DE LA CADENA (rubric); FRAY ANDRÉS DURÁN (rubric); FRAY FRANCISCO FARFÁN (rubric); FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); FRANCISCO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric); AMBROSIO SAIS (rubric); FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); BACHILLER FRANCISCO DE VELASCO (rubric); JUAN DE CARBAJAL (rubric); NICOLÁS LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); BARTOLOMÉ ROMERO DE PEDRASA (rubric). Done before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Certification [and] notice of departure. [Santa Fe, August 21, 1680.]

I, Maestre de Campo Francisco Xavier, alcalde ordinario of this villa of Santa Fe, secretary of government and war of this province by appointment of Señor Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this kingdom for his Majesty, certify and attest truly in so far as I can and should that by order of the said señor governor I have distributed a large quantity of clothing to the Spanish soldiers, to all their families and servants, to the Mexican natives, and to all classes of people, numbering more than a thousand souls, who are in these casas reales in the siege which has been continued for nine days by the rebellious enemy. Of shirts, clothing, coats, shoes, and provisions I have distributed a quantity worth apparently more than eight thousand pesos; and I have also given them beasts so that they may be able to march out from this villa. All has been provided at the expense of his lordship, in order to proceed to the pueblo of La Isleta, where it is reported that the Spanish people of the jurisdictions of Río Abajo are assembled, so that a stand can be made with them, and so that, with the forces united, it may be determined what is most conducive to the service of the two Majesties. Every one was given what he asked for and needed free of charge, the gift amounting, as I said, to somewhat more than eight thousand pesos. So that this, and the fact that it is given gratis, may be recorded, I give these presents at the request of his lordship in these casas reales, before the camp marches, on the said day, month, and year, signing it with two witnesses, who are Juan Lucero de Godoy, alcalde ordinario, and Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana. JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric). In testimony of the truth I affix my accustomed signature and rubric. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Declaration of an Indian rebel. [Place of the Arroyo de San Marcos, August 23, 1680.]

In the place of the Arroyo de San Marcos on the 23d day of the month of August, 1681, this army having halted and raised the royal standard, and his lordship being at the headquarters

of the army, Sargento Mayor Bernabé Márquez and other soldiers brought in as a prisoner a Christian Indian of the Teguas nation who says that his name is Antonio and that he is one of the rebel Indians who, having been at the siege of the *casas reales* along with the rest of the people and in the service of Sargento Mayor Bernabé Márquez, fled from the *casas reales* and was captured at the estancia of Los Cerrillos, hidden in a cornfield with his arms, a bow and arrow. The said Indian then appeared before the señor governor and captain-general, and, being able to speak the Castilian language, took the oath in due legal form in the name of God, our Lord, and a sign of the holy cross, under charge of which he promised to tell the truth. Having been asked where he was going and why he left the *casas reales* and joined with the Indian rebels, he said that Ambrosio de Carbajal caught him in a cornfield where he was attempting to hide, and that his reason for leaving the *casas reales* was that he believed that the Spaniards must perish, along with the señor governor and captain-general, and that in case they should happen not to be defeated, they would probably take him to some other country, and he did not wish to leave this one. He stated that he did not find any of the rebels that night, and the following day he went toward the villa because of having learned that the señor governor and all the people who were with him were marching out. On reaching the villa he found inside and out of the *casas reales* a large number of the rebellious Indians who were sacking the place, taking out a large amount of property belonging to the señor governor, which he had left behind. He recognized among the pillagers Indians of all nations, and a number of Taos and Pecuríes, and he heard an Indian of Tesuque named Poquete tell of having seen the great number of Indians who were dead in the plaza of the villa, and in the houses, streets, and environs. The said rebels had told him, "We are at quits with the Spaniards and the persons whom we have killed; those of us whom they have killed do not matter, for they are going, and now we shall live as we like and settle in this villa and wherever we see fit." The said Indian told him also that all the rebels were planning to come together in a narrow pass between the hills and the Río

del Norte near the house of Cristóbal de Anaya and fall upon the Spaniards and the people who were on the march, to see if they could destroy them. In the plaza of the villa this declarant saw, entering on horseback into the casas reales, Nicolás de la Cruz, whom they call Jonva, who took part in the pillaging with the rest; and the said pillage did not end that day. This declarant came to the house and cornfields of his master, where they captured him; he did not know or see anything else except what he has stated, which is the truth under the oath he took, which he affirmed and ratified, this, his said declaration, being read to him. He did not know his age or how to sign. Apparently he is more than sixty years old. His lordship signed it with Alcalde Juan Lucero de Godoy and Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana, before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto of the march and halting places. [August 24-26, 1680.]

Following the abovesaid, we having left this place on the day of the 24th and marched a little more than a league, a troop of the enemy was sighted, drawn up in two lines on the tops of some mesas and large rocks, sending up smoke signals. On our arrival at the pueblo of Santo Domingo, there were found behind the church the bodies of five Spaniards, and signs within the convent of fighting and of the murder of the father preachers, Fray Juan de Talabán, Fray Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, and Fray Joseph de Montes de Oca, whose bodies the said rebels had dragged out and buried in the church, where a large grave containing all three bodies was seen; and the church, the convent, and the sacristy were closed. All were opened and the images and altars were found undisturbed. On entering the sacristy all the ornaments were found—six silver chalices, a hand basin, a salver, seven vessels for wine and water, an incense burner and vessel, a lamp, and other things of silver, all of which, with other things from the sacristy, the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena brought out and took possession of. On this day we lost sight of the said pueblo

without any of the rebels being seen, and, on the following day, in the morning, as the camp was about to march, some Indians appeared on the other side of the Río del Norte, having some loose animals in sight which they were pasturing, in order to incite us to go over to them. A soldier named Juan Ramos crossed over and discovered it to be the main body of the said enemy, who were in ambush. They fired two harquebus shots at the said Juan Ramos, and, seeing that they were discovered and that their evil intent had not succeeded, they all rose from where they were concealed and came to the bank of the said Río del Norte, which was in flood. A small number of Indians forded it on horseback, and more on foot, making many hostile demonstrations, and shouting loudly. The army being set in motion, many of the enemy crossed on horseback, on foot, and by swimming, following after the camp. On its way the army encountered a Christian Indian of the Tagno nation who was coming with his wife and another Indian woman to overtake and accompany us, because he did not want to be a rebellious traitor. The said Indians came after him, took away his wife and the other Indian woman, and he escaped by fleeing and because some of our soldiers who were in the rear guard went out to meet them. We were marching toward the pueblo of San Felipe, which was in sight, a little more than two leagues away. The camp halted there, and the pueblo was found deserted like the rest. Not an Indian was seen until the sun was setting, when some came out on horseback on the tops of the mesas. At dawn of the next day more were seen, who were watching us, and as soon as the camp marched some of them on horseback swam across to reconnoiter the place and examine the fires. They went back from there, some coming along in sight of the army as spies. It marched from there on with all care and vigilance to the narrow pass at the house of Cristóbal de Anaya, where the said Indian, Antonio, who was captured at Los Cerrillos, declared that the enemy would attack, it being two leagues away. His lordship gave orders that mounted soldiers be stationed all along the heights, and that the men be ready to receive the enemy, and the camp passed on, continuing its march. Large numbers of the enemy were seen on the mesas,

with an abundance of horses and cattle. They remained quiet, making no move whatever, watching the march and the camp from the highest points. About a quarter of a league farther on there was seen an estancia belonging to Pedro de Cuellar, which was found sacked and destroyed. A short distance beyond they came to another house, belonging to Captain Agustín de Carbajal, where the house was found open and everything stolen, including the cattle. In the parlor and in another room of the house were the bodies of the said Captain Agustín de Carbajal, of his wife, Doña Damiana Domínguez de Mendoza, of a grown daughter, and of another woman; there was no sign of his sons and of the rest of the family. A very short distance from there they came to the house of Captain Cristóbal de Anaya; it was found to have been robbed, the cattle and all his other property stolen, and he, his wife, six children, and other persons, to the number of twelve, all dead and their bodies stripped, were found lying at the main door. The army halted here, having marched more than ten leagues, and his lordship ordered that the Tagno Indian who had come to join the retreat from Santo Domingo be examined, so that he might declare everything that he knew concerning the treasonable designs of the enemy. He ordered also that whatever takes place henceforth shall be recorded as a judicial proceeding, and that we shall proceed with all care as far as the pueblo of La Isleta, where it is reported that there are Spaniards, so that it may then be decided what is most conducive to the service of both Majesties. He signed it before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Declaration of Pedro García, an Indian of the Tagno nation, a native of Las Salinas. [Near the estancia of Cristóbal de Anaya, August 25, 1680.]

At the place near the estancia of Sargento Mayor Cristóbal de Anaya, on the 25th day of the month of August, 1680, for the prosecution of this case, the señor governor and captain-general caused to appear before him a Christian Indian of the Tagno nation who came from among the hostile rebel apos-

tates from the holy faith. His lordship received the oath from him in due legal form in the name of God, our Lord, and on a sign of the holy cross, under charge of which he promised to tell the truth in so far as he knew it and might be questioned. Being questioned for the continuation of the case and told to state and declare from whence he comes, in what places he has been, and what he has seen with regard to the treason and general uprising of the Christian Indians of these provinces, and of their designs and anything else he may know, the deponent said that he was in the service of Captain Joseph Nieto, because he was born and has been brought up in his house; and that some days ago he heard it said that two Teguas Indians, natives of the pueblo of Tesuque, had arrived at the pueblo of San Cristóbal, sent by the said Teguas, telling them to rebel, and that all the rest of the pueblos were now in this conspiracy. This word was passed to all the captains of the Tagnos, and that night those of San Cristóbal advised those of San Lázaro and of Galisteo, the father custodian also learning of it. The said father custodian notified the master of this witness and the other Spaniards, who assembled in the said pueblo of Galisteo; and the next day this witness, while weeding part of a cornfield on his master's estancia, which is something like a league from the pueblo of Galisteo, saw coming to the place where he was an Indian named Bartolomé, the cantor mayor of the pueblo of Galisteo. He came up weeping and said to him, "What are you doing here? The Indians want to kill the custodian, the fathers, and the Spaniards, and have said that the Indian who shall kill a Spaniard will get an Indian woman for a wife, and he who kills four will get four women, and he who kills ten or more will have a like number of women; and they have said that they are going to kill all the servants of the Spaniards and those who know how to speak Castilian, and they have also ordered that rosaries be taken away from every one and burned. Hurry! Go! Perhaps you will be lucky enough to reach the place where the Spaniards are and will escape with your wife and an orphan girl that you have." Asked why they were plotting such treason and rebellion, he said that the said cantor told him that they were tired of the work they had to do for the Spaniards and the religious,

because they did not allow them to plant or do other things for their own needs; and that, being weary, they had rebelled. Later he [the witness] learned from another of his comrades that in the said pueblo of Galisteo they had killed the father custodian, Fray Domingo de Vera, and in the fields in view of the pueblo, Fathers Fray Fernando de Velasco and Fray Manuel Tinoco, ministers guardianes of Pecos and San Marcos, and he saw that the said Indians took possession of the cattle and property of the convent. The said Indians also killed Captain Joseph Nieto, Juan de Leiva, and Nicolás de Leiva, robbed their haciendas, and killed their wives and children, keeping three of the said women. After this the said Indians of all the pueblos of Los Tagnos, Pecos, and San Marcos went to fight at the villa. Because six Tagnos Indians of Galisteo were killed and many were wounded, receiving broken arms and legs and other wounds, the Indians of the pueblo became enraged and killed the said three women, mistresses of this witness, named Lucía, María, and Juana. He knows also that they killed another young woman named Dorotea, daughter of Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva. The said cantor also told him that they had brought from the Teguas an order from them, and from the Taos, Pecuríes, and Yutas Indians, saying that they would destroy the Indian or pueblo that refused to rebel; and for this reason and because of being a Christian he [the witness] went along the road from Santo Domingo to overtake the señor governor and captain-general and the people who were marching with his lordship. In sight of the camp the Indians of Santo Domingo came out against him on horseback and took away his wife and the other woman, and he escaped because the Spaniards who were in the rear guard came out to help him. What he has said is the truth, and is what he knows and has seen, under the oath that he took. This, his said declaration, being read to him, he affirms and ratifies it. He states that he does not know his age or how to sign. Apparently he is about thirty years old. His lordship signed it with the alcalde ordinario, Juan Lucero de Godoy, and the sargento mayor, Luis de Quintana, before me, the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); LUIS DE QUIN-

TANA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

[*Continuation of Otermin's march, August 26, 1680.*]

We marched from this place on the day of the 26th for the pueblo of Sandia. We reached it and found it empty of people, the church door closed, with embrasures in it, and the porter's lodge and the doors entering the convent open. We went inside and found the convent deserted and destroyed, the cells without doors, and the whole place sacked. The images had been taken from the church, and on the main altar there was a carved full-length figure of Saint Francis with the arms hacked off by an axe. The church had been filled with wheat straw for the purpose of burning it, and fire had started in the choir and in the choir stalls. Everything was broken to pieces and destroyed; the sacristy was found empty of chests and of all sacred vessels and vestments, and of the carved figures that were there, for everything had been stolen and profaned by the rebellious traitors. A search was made in the houses of the pueblo and some images and other pieces of silver were found, which were handed over to the said reverend father, Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena. The camp continued its march half a league beyond the said pueblo, having traveled a little more than three leagues that day, and before we halted a large number of Indians appeared on the elevations and hills, on horseback and on foot, who boldly and shamelessly attacked the camp, shouting and discharging shots from an harquebus. They had a large number of cattle and beasts on the slopes of the sierra. His lordship, seeing their boldness, ordered that the army halt and that fifty soldiers go out to fight the Indians. This was done, and all of them fled toward the sierra, which they ascended with the cattle and horses. Seeing their flight and that the church was beginning to burn, he ordered the pueblo set on fire, which was done. It was learned that the guardián of the convent and another clerical religious who was there had escaped, leaving for the pueblo of La Isleta. From here the army marched toward the estancia of Doña Luisa de Trujillo, more than three leagues away, and when the soldiers attempted to cross the Río del

Norte by swimming to recover a large number of cattle which were on the other side on the hacienda of the lieutenant general, Alonso García, the enemy got there first, on horseback, rounded them all up and carried them off. From this place we marched four more leagues to the hacienda of the Gómez, without seeing any more of the enemy. All along this road from the pueblo of Sandia to this estancia everything was found deserted and pillaged, alike of cattle and of household possessions, there being many haciendas on both sides of the river, all of which were sacked and destroyed by the enemy. A mounted Indian was captured on the road as we marched, and, being questioned, he declared that the lieutenant general of those jurisdictions and the religious who had escaped from the district of Sandia as well as from Los Jemez, Zia, and La Isleta, had assembled on the day of the uprising in the pueblo of La Isleta, and that from there they had set out with all the residents, none remaining behind, toward El Paso del Rio del Norte, intending to go out to El Parral. His lordship ordered that the said Indian be kept under guard, and on the following day he continued his march toward the said pueblo of La Isleta. On passing to it, it was found to be entirely empty of natives and without a single person, either religious or citizens. Whereupon his lordship, seeing that there were no Spaniards, that his camp was perishing for lack of provisions and horses, that there was not a single person who could help him, and that it was more than twenty days since the people who followed the said lieutenant general of Río Abajo had marched, decided to continue his own march until he could communicate with those who were ahead. He did so from the hacienda of Francisco de Valencia, and the messengers overtook all the rest of the people, now entirely outside the settled section of the kingdom, six leagues beyond, at the place which they call that of Fray Cristóbal, where his order directed them to halt, and the news reached him by the said lieutenant. For the better determination of what ought to be done, his lordship ordered that the Indian who had been captured while the camp was on the march be examined, so that he might declare what he knows about the enemy, why they had rebelled, and what all their plans were; and that whatever is

fitting shall then be done. He so provided, ordered, and signed, before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

*Another certified copy. Auto for holding a junta de guerra in El Paso, with the first notices which Fray Francisco de Ayeta had of the uprising, and to name a leader for the relief which has to be sent to the governor. Pedro de Leiva is named. [El Paso, August 25, 1680.]*¹

In the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso del Río del Norte, on to-day, August 25, 1680, at about eight o'clock in the morning, we were summoned to the convent of Nuestro Padre San Francisco by our very Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta. I, Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva—who am general of the kingdom and commander of twenty-seven men with whom I came to meet the wagons in which his Majesty (whom God keep) sent assistance and the alms consisting of wax, wine, and oil, and the holy oils, and also the royal munitions for its defense—having arrived at the cell where he resides, accompanied by the squad officers, who are the sargentos mayores, Diego Lucero de Godoy and Lorenzo de Madrid, the alguacil mayor and clerk, Gregorio de Valdés, and the regidor, Alonso del Río, he informed us that he had just received two letters from New Mexico by two Indian couriers, in which they advised that there has taken place in the said provinces the disaster which has threatened so many times. All [the above-named] sign this first document in order that what will be told later may be recorded legally, although on common paper because there is no sealed paper in these parts, nor is it possible to proceed in any other manner because the alcalde mayor of this pueblo lives seventy leagues from here. Having examined the letters and the tragic and lamentable account given in them, we requested the very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, preacher, commissary of the Holy Office, custodio habitual, and present commissary visitador, to give them to us to be consulted upon,

1. Archivo General de Indias, *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, legajo 67-3-32. This translation was made from a copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 79, in the Library of the University of Texas.

assembling the soldiers and conferring with them as to the fitting decision that should be made in such a grave matter. Having taken this step, as in fact was done, and recognizing the common desire to proceed juridically, I, as superior officer in possession representing the señor govetnor and captain-general, whose being alive is doubtful, as a preliminary step before proceeding to take evidence, as has been stated, have named verbally as my secretary Sargento Mayor Lorenzo de Madrid. Because the said officers, the alguacil mayor and the regidor, were of the opinion that a formal junta de guerra should be held with full attendance to consider this matter, in order to proceed with it and so that this *auto* signed jointly by all of us may serve as the beginning of the process, we decided so to do on the said day, month, and year. PEDRO DE LEIVA; GREGORIO DE VALDÉS, at the request of and for Alonso del Río; GREGORIO DE VALDÉS; DIEGO LUCERO DE GODOY; LORENZO DE MADRID, acting secretary.

Auto de Junta. [El Paso, August 25, 1680.]¹

Then immediately, on the said day, month, and year, at about nine o'clock, the said señor maestre de campo, Pedro de Leiva, ordered me, the present secretary, to send one of the soldiers to summon and notify Sargento Mayor Diego Lucero, as chief of a squadron, to attend the junta de guerra, and, as experienced military men of superior rank, the alguacil mayor of the cabildo, Gregorio de Valdés, and the regidor and captain, Alonso del Río, indicating to them as the place of meeting the casa de la comunidad. I, the present secretary, did so, to which I certify on the said day, month, and year. I so certify. LORENZO DE MADRID, secretary.

On the said day, month, and year, at about ten o'clock in the morning, being assembled to discuss what is most conducive to his Majesty's service, the señor maestre de campo, Pedro de Leiva, and the gentlemen named above, decided, since the matter is so serious and so full of difficulties, that it would be well to give notice of the said junta de guerra which was being held to the very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, as

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 58, Library of the University of Texas.

ecclesiastical head, present visitador, and procurador general of both jurisdictions, requesting and charging that he attend it. Having done so, and his reverence having entered the said junta so that he might state with the rest what he believed should be done in such an irregular case, I read in a clear voice two letters, one signed by Don Juan Severino de Suballe and written to the father preacher, Fray Diego de Mendoza, guardián of the convent of Nuestra Señora del Socorro, in the name of the lieutenant-governor and captain-general, Alonso García, his father-in-law, and the other from the said father guardián of El Socorro, giving the news to the said very reverend father visitador. They are respectively of the following tenor:

My father preacher, Fray Diego de Mendoza. My master: I shall take much satisfaction if this comes into your reverence's hands and finds you in good health, as I desire. I am traveling toward this pueblo in your service, where I shall hold myself at your orders. I do not know how to explain to your reverence the great uneasiness I feel because of the disasters that have befallen above here, with the enemy in possession of the pueblo of Sandia, and with the said enemy and the Christians having closed all the doors to us—those of Alameda and Puaray, as well as those of Sandia. To-day I do not know for certain whether my governor and captain-general is dead, but it is more likely that he is, and also all the religious from Santo Domingo north, as the fathers will advise your honor more fully. That which I ask of you on this occasion, as my master and friend, is that you supply me with a sack of biscuits, though they be of bran, for which I will thank your reverence and for my part will serve you, if God spares my life. All the Spaniards who were above Sandia have been despoiled—Anaya and Carbajal with all their families perished—except those of Bernalillo, all of whom are coming here. Below Sandia there is no one left except those who are coming with me. God keep your reverence and grant that I may join you, which is what I most desire. In this place below Thomé on August 18, 1680. My son Don Juan signs for me because my hand is hurt. I kiss your reverence's hand. Your humble son, JUAN SEVERINO RODRÍGUEZ DE SUBALLE.

Our Very Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta: To-day,

August 20, I received this, which I remit to your reverence. Your reverence will see from it the disasters which have happened. Your reverence, as such a great man, can give some relief to the many poor people who are coming out and you can also give orders that the Spaniards who are there shall come to their assistance, and to see if all who are in the villa [of Santa Fe] have perished, for it is not right to leave them to their fate. I am expecting here in the morning Father Fray Nicolás Hurtado, Father Zavaleta, and the father guardián of Los Hemes [Jemez]. They have already killed Father Jesús, with all the other religious, and Father Lorenzana and Father Talabán. I judge that Father Montes is dead, according to the story of the Indian who brought me the letter. I do not know about Father Tobalina or his companion. Finally, our father, your reverence can now perform a task acceptable to God and the world, even though the dispatches may be lost, for of those who were here there is now none to receive them. There is such a multitude of small children that all are traveling on foot, and the poor women as well. I will not now weary your reverence further. I only pray God to be merciful to us and bring us to heaven. Socorro, August 20, 1680. I kiss your reverence's hand. Your humblest son, FRAY DIEGO DE MENDOZA.

Having considered various matters, inquiring into what the letters say, the junta went on to discuss whether it would be well to aid the body of Christians who are coming along these roads, and to go on to the villa of Santa Fe, and for thirty leagues round about, it being possible to relieve the señor governor and captain-general if God has granted that he may have fortified himself in some pueblo or post with some of the people. They were of the opinion that if the means could be procured, it was best for the service of God, and of our lord, the king (whom God keep), to go to aid them. Discussing the manner and circumstances of doing so, there was noted as the first requirement the necessity of having a legitimate chief who with legal title would control the relief that must be made ready. Two considerations were offered as facts and not as grounds for argument, one being the presence here of the said *maestre de campo*, Pedro de Leiva, acting as such for the whole kingdom, as head

of twenty-six¹ men who were coming to escort the wagons, which have been detained by the floods of the Río del Norte from the beginning of April until to-day, the evening before the day assigned for crossing it, as it has now subsided. The other circumstance is that there are also in this place two señores capitulares who came on behalf of the cabildo to welcome the very reverend father visitador through the love which they feel for him, namely, Sargento Mayor Gregorio Valdés, alguacil mayor of it [the cabildo], and Captain Alonso del Río, regidor. It was noted that if the governor should be dead, the governorship would devolve upon the very illustrious cabildo, for which there has been a precedent in the death of the señor governor, Juan Flores de Valdés. Various arguments on either side being discussed, without prejudice to the rights that might appertain to them in the future and without making a dispute of it—the said gentlemen and the maestre de campo desiring only the most prompt service to his Majesty for relieving so serious an emergency, without quarrels or claims as to jurisdictions—it was resolved that on this point of electing a chief who should command, each one should give his opinion. The very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, as spiritual head and procurador of both jurisdictions, having been asked for his, discoursed and spoke as follows: First, they would have to consider either that the letters were correct as regards everything above Sandia being destroyed, the principal place there being the villa, and the lieutenant general himself believing it more likely that the señor governor is dead than alive; or they were not to be regarded as correct. It is to be feared from the statements of the general from Socorro, and from the accounts of the Indian couriers, that the news must be regarded as true; and if so it is to be believed that such loyal vassals of his Majesty as are those of New Mexico, those of the cabildo being closest by, would have died at his side; or they would not have died. If they died, supposing that the lieutenant general is retreating with the people whom he has been able to gather together, it is now recognized that there is no kingdom, for the cabildo and its head

1. The number of men given above is twenty-seven.

are lacking; and that the soldiers who are in this troop and in the jurisdiction of La Vizcaya, being outside their territory, in strict accord with legitimate title of justice do not have a superior to govern them for accomplishing the purpose of this relief, for the authority of Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva, who represents the governor and captain-general, ceased with the latter's death, and the señores who represent the cabildo are excluded for the same reason from the right to command. Besides all this, the example of Governor Juan Flores de Valdés, over which there was litigation, does not apply here, because he died of an illness that God sent him, the kingdom being at peace and the case very different. For our understanding to-day is that governor and cabildo and more than thirty-six religious—thirty-two of the forty priests who were there—have perished. It is no time to discourse about convenience, but about helping those who have remained alive and electing a person who with just authority—it being such in that they are taking the said assistance, as they are, in the name of his Majesty (whom God keep)—shall govern this body of men as well as the people who are retreating from New Mexico, giving the necessary protection to the women, the aged, and the children, as far as this pueblo. Here they will augment the numbers of the others in order to recover strength and to be able to go, with the favor of God, our Lord, to rescue their governor and captain-general or the Christians whom they may find, penetrating if it is at all possible as far as the villa of Santa Fe and for thirty leagues round about. There should be two limitations on the person who may be elected by free vote of all, and who is to be given obedience, one being that he who may be so elected shall cease to exercise authority in case the governor and captain-general shall be found alive, for the aim and intention of the electors is to have some one to govern them in this enterprise so important to his Majesty's service, in case he be dead; and there being proof that he is not dead, they will obey his orders wherever they may be. The other limitation is in case it should happen that the said governor be dead or [and?] all the members of the cabildo alive. For on occasions of this kind the same difficulty would obtain and there might follow the same inconveniences

which have arisen in other times, since it is a matter of three months to receive here by courier explanations of the royal pleasure. A report should be made to the most illustrious and most excellent señor viceroy of the measures and decisions which shall be adopted, sending him certified copies of all documents, so that his excellency may be informed that none of those who may be considered as interested parties have raised objections on the basis of their rights, but that without prejudice to their rights and in view of the circumstances described above, they give their votes freely. He [the speaker] is of the opinion that in accordance with military usage the whole camp should be assembled and these *autos* read to them, and it being determined to undertake the said relief, they should elect freely by vote a person of authority and experience satisfactory to them; and this done, they should give him obedience, and the person elected should accept with the formalities of the law. He said that this was his opinion, since there was no one invested with authority to rule legally; and that thenceforth he was going as his Majesty's humblest vassal to assist in his royal name and in that of his seraphic Order the person who should be so elected. To accomplish this purpose he would order the wagons to be unloaded immediately so that all the provisions possible might be loaded in them, and so they might proceed by forced marches and afford a refuge for the boys and girls and all those whom the señores soldiers could put into them. He would send also two hundred head of cattle to be driven ahead so that we may have more provisions. He offered to go personally with four other chaplains satisfactory to him and experienced in hardships, leaving the reverend father guardián of this convent, Fray Juan Alvarez, in charge of the relief of those refugees who might arrive, and he hoped that this ready supply of cattle and grain would give us strength. Or, on an occasion when the señores soldiers are so few in number that it is not convenient for any of them to be absent, he offered to go to report to his excellency, taking certified copies of all the *autos* which might be drawn up, so that he, with his great foresight, may take measures such as have always demonstrated his great zeal and the vigilance and care with which he has acted in everything concerning his

Majesty's service, and in the singular favors which he has done this kingdom during his auspicious government, such as have not been experienced since its conquest. In case he [the speaker] may claim to have given satisfaction, he asked for testimony concerning his opinion.

The sargento mayor and alguacil mayor of the kingdom having been asked, he agreed with the opinion of his reverence, given above.

The señor sargento mayor, Diego Lucero, having been asked, he said the same.

Captain Alonso del Río, regidor, having been asked, he agreed with the said opinion.

Sargento Mayor Lorenzo de Madrid, who acts as secretary in the compilation of these *autos*, having been asked, as one of the chiefs of this squadron, he agreed with the opinion of the very reverend father visitador.

Captain Alonso Ramírez having been asked, he agreed with the said opinion; and it was resolved that at the sound of bugle and drum they should assemble to give their votes freely for the said election in the name of his Majesty, which was done with no other purpose than to serve him as loyal vassals. Those who knew how signed it, along with Captain Gonzalo de Paredes, who also attended the said junta, and the said opinion was agreed to on the said day, month, and year. FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA, commissary visitador; PEDRO DE LEIVA; GREGORIO DE VALDÉS, for Alonso del Río and at his request; GREGORIO DE VALDÉS; DIEGO LUCERO DE GODOY; GONZALO DE PAREDES; ALONSO RAMÍREZ. Before me, to which I certify. LORENZO DE MADRID, secretary.

*Auto in which Pedro de Leiva is installed as commander of the men of the relief party. [El Paso, August 25, 1680.]*¹

In conformity with that decided upon in the junta de guerra, to-day, the said 25th day of August, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, all were summoned and convoked at the sound of drum and trumpet, according to military usage, and all these

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 67, Library of the University of Texas.

autos were read to them word for word, so that, in view of the present circumstances and in the name of his Majesty (whom God keep), and exercising their own free will, they might elect a person entirely satisfactory to them, prudent and experienced in military matters, since every one is known to them, to govern them and administer justice. And to him whom they may so elect they shall give obedience with all the necessary formalities of the law. All of them having understood, the vote of each one was accordingly received publicly, in demonstration of their loyalty and with regard only for the service of the king. The first who voted were the two gentlemen of the cabildo, who are the said sargento mayor, Gregorio de Valdés, and the alguacil mayor and regidor, Captain Alonso del Río. They unanimously and in accord gave their votes to the señor maestro de campo, Pedro de Leiva. Then Sargento Mayor Diego Lucero de Godoy was asked for his vote, which he gave in the same manner to the said señor maestro de campo. The other military officers of the junta, Sargento Mayor Lorenzo de Madrid, secretary for these *autos*, Captain Alonso Ramírez, and Captain Gonzalo de Paredes, having also cast their votes for the señor maestro de campo, in imitation of their example all the other señores soldiers who will be named herein did the same. All who knew how signed this said act of obedience, and unanimously gave the baton to the señor alguacil mayor, Gregorio de Valdés, and in the presence of every one the very reverend father visitador brought the said señor maestro de campo to the door of the casas reales, which the common people call casas de comunidad, and, calling for a chair, he had him seat himself in it, as he did. Being in the said position, and all those named herein being present, with only three absent who were occupied with legitimate business in his Majesty's service, the señor alguacil mayor, raising his voice, said clearly: "Señor Maestro de Campo Pedro de Leiva, all those present, in the name of his Majesty (whom God keep), judging it to be to his service and with the conditions which are set forth in the *autos*, have given our votes and elected your honor in the junta to govern us in his Majesty's name as his loyal vassals, and in the name of the authority which we grant you, with legal title to order everything necessary for the better

service of both Majesties, so that the end which is desired may be attained." He then handed him a baton of wood with a blue ribbon as a sign of his election as chief. After making very courteous responses and admitting himself to be the most unworthy member of the group, the señor maestro de campo received it, in the name of his Majesty, our king and lord, Señor Carlos II (whom God keep). The camp being present, and the very reverend father visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, seated in a chair near a table, with all his religious about him, the said very reverend father asked the reverend father guardián of the convent, Fray Juan Alvarez, for a missal, which he opened and marked. He [Pedro de Leiva] then swore solemnly on the holy Gospels and in the name of our king and lord, Señor Carlos II (whom God keep), to defend and to employ all his strength and to shed his blood in defense of the faith of God, our Lord, and the holy law which we profess as Apostolic Roman Catholic Christians, watching over its observance and purity, and to maintain his Majesty's vassals in equity and justice and do everything possible to assist them, protecting the Christian people who are coming in retreat, and inflicting such chastisement as he is able in order to subjugate and reduce the enemy and the rebels against his crown. In sign of possession he gave orders for and directed a demonstration in honor of our king and lord, Señor Carlos II, and accordingly three volleys were fired. He ordered that certified copies of all documents be made to be remitted to the most excellent señor viceroy, and all this having been done, those of the following persons, who were the electors and who were able, signed it: GREGORIO DE VALDÉS, at the request of and for Alonso del Río; GREGORIO DE VALDÉS; DIEGO LUCERO DE GODOY; ALONSO RAMÍREZ; GONZALO DE PAREDES; PEDRO DE CUELLAR; JOSÉ DOMÍNGUEZ; ANTONIO LUCERO; JOSEPH GALLEGOS; ANTONIO DE MONTOYA; CRISTÓBAL NIETO; TIBURCIO DE ORTEGA, for Esteban López; ANTONIO LUCERO, for Antonio de Carbajal; ANTONIO DE LUCERO, for Pedro de Avalos and at his request; TIBURCIO DE ORTEGA, for Francisco Varela and at his request; TIBURCIO DE ORTEGA, for Joseph Varela; TIBURCIO DE ORTEGA, for Miguel de Sosa and at his request; TIBURCIO DE ORTEGA, for Thomás de Arbicu and at his request; TIBURCIO DE ORTEGA,

for Joseph Xavier; TIBURCIO DE ORTEGA; PEDRO DE LEIVA. Before me, who certify. LORENZO DE MADRID, secretary.

This agrees with the original *autos* which remain in my possession, from which the present certified copy is taken, which is written on six folios with this one, by order of the señor governor-elect, Pedro de Leiva, and at his request; and I deliver it to his honor. Witnesses to the above, who saw it copied, corrected, and compared, are Tiburcio de Ortega, Antonio de Montoya, and Antonio Lucero. On the said day, month, and year I affix my sign in testimony of the truth. LORENZO DE MADRID, secretary of war.

*Letter of Fray Juan Alvarez to Francisco Ramírez, in which he tells him of the uprising and asks that he send him some pack animals to assist the people who have escaped from the enemy; and he tells how they have killed a number of persons. [El Paso, August 25, 1680.]*¹

Señor Captain and friend, Señor Francisco Ramírez: To-day, the 25th of the current month, the very reverend father procurador received two letters from New Mexico, one from the lieutenant general, the other from the father guardián of El Socorro. In them they report that all New Mexico above Puaray has rebelled and that they have killed all the citizens and the religious. It is not known that more than four religious have escaped, and they, with all the residents below Sandia, are retreating in all haste.

The wagons are now leaving with assistance in the form of provisions, and to bring out all who may have escaped. Thus, for the love of God, since charity is incumbent upon all of us, and in order that so many Christian souls may not perish, let those where you are send their mules in order to go and meet them with some supplies. And let your honor advise all friendly persons to have pity on their neighbors, so that each one may endeavor to deserve something in the sight of God, and so that all may aid us.

Therefore, I am forwarding the news with all haste as soon

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 116, Library of the University of Texas.

as we received it. Let Sonora be notified also, in case they may be willing to help us. May God comfort us and protect your honor unto heaven. El Paso, August 25, 1680. Your honor's chaplain and friend, FRAY JUAN ALVAREZ.

[In the margin:] Our very reverend father visitador is going in person to assist them and bring out those who can come, in order that so many Christians may not perish. Send the news to El Parral. I am going also, with all my supplies. I am returning to take charge of the relief; and am carrying as much as I can.

*Certified copy. Auto in which it is decided by the people who were with Father Ayeta in El Paso to go to the aid of the governor. [El Paso, August 28, 1680.]*¹

In these casas reales of the pueblo of El Paso on the 28th day of the month of August, 1680, the maestre de campo gobernador of the provinces of New Mexico, Pedro de Leiva, because of having received the letters and papers comprising the dispatches from the lieutenant general, dated the 18th of the present month from below the estancia of Thomé Domínguez, and another dated the 20th of the said month from the father preacher, Fray Diego de Mendoza, in which he also gives an account to our very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office and procurador general of both jurisdictions—in all of which documents they report and give notice of the very miserable and unprecedented state in which they find themselves, and the said lieutenant advises therein of Señor Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of the said kingdom, being in danger of death or doubtless already dead, and of the said lieutenant's coming out with all the families and citizens below Bernalillo and Sandia, with all the children and women marching through the country afoot and retreating, a case so pitiful and unprecedented that it decided our reverend father Fray Francisco de Ayeta to unload his Majesty's wagons, carrying the dispatches and the alms for the administration of the holy sacraments—for greater haste and in order to go more quickly to see what is needed for his Majesty's service, I issued

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 72, Library of the University of Texas.

an *auto* for a junta de guerra composed of the persons in my small army. Among them were Maestre de Campo Diego Lucero de Godoy and Sargento Mayor Gregorio de Valdés, both active officers and chiefs of squadron; Sargento Mayor Lorenzo de Madrid, secretary; Captain Alonso del Río, regidor of the said villa; Captain Alonso Ramírez; and the active ensign, Francisco Varela; and as a vassal and vassals of his Majesty we offered ourselves to go and give aid to those poor men, women, and children. In order to deliberate upon what would be best, they gave their opinions freely, to the effect that the said wagons of his Majesty should remain, because of the army's being so small that if the said wagons should go they would be a great hindrance in view of the haste demanded by such urgent need as was being experienced by the poor men who were retreating with their families, for it is certain that they must lack almost everything needed for their defense, as horses, powder, and shot, because we do not know whether the urgency of the occasion would have given them time to gather up their horse droves, or, which is more likely, whether the enemy would have carried them off. Thus all the said officers decided to go with the fewest possible impediments to attempt the restoration of the kingdom and to the support of those who were retreating, and they believed that there are not sufficient forces to accomplish all this if the said wagons are taken. It would cause much greater delay, since the wagons cannot travel more than six leagues a day at best, while we shall march twelve at least, when carrying assistance in the form of powder, shot, wine, and other military stores. This is their unanimous and consistent opinion.

On the said day, month, and year the maestre de campo gobernador, Pedro de Leiva, in view of the opinions of the said señores military officers and chiefs of squadron, stated that he agreed with the said opinions, and accordingly he so provided and ordered, and signed it. PEDRO DE LEIVA; DIEGO LUCERO DE GODOY; GREGORIO DE VALDÉS; ALONSO DEL RÍO; ALONSO RAMÍREZ, at the request of and for Alonso Francisco Varela. Before me, LORENZO DE MADRID, secretary.

*Auto providing that Father Ayeta, although he promised to go in person with the relief, shall not do so, but shall remain in El Paso for the support of the people who may be arriving there. [El Paso, August 28, 1680.]*¹

On the said day, month, and year, the *maestre de campo* gobernador, Pedro de Leiva, stated that, being as he was on the point of setting out with the said relief, and our reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office, *procurador general* of both jurisdictions, and *visitador general* of the holy custodia of New Mexico, being ready to leave with his wagons loaded with provisions and other military stores with which he has aided and supported this whole army—his reverence intending to go in person—in accordance with the decision of a *junta de guerra* that I held, which does not consider it convenient, because of a rebellion which has broken out among the said natives, that his reverence leave here, as he had decided to do, taking six religious with him as chaplains, I therefore beg and charge that he be pleased not to go. Otherwise it is necessary that I make a protest to him for the first, second, and third times, as is permitted me by law. But I request and beg that his reverence be pleased to name a chaplain to accompany us and administer the holy sacraments. I so provide, order, and sign. PEDRO DE LEIVA. Before me, LORENZO DE MADRID, secretary.

*Auto in which Ayeta names religious to go with the relief party, because he himself is not permitted to go. [El Paso, August 28, 1680.]*²

In this convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, on the 28th of August, 1680. In the convent of our father, Saint Francis, having presented my compliments by order of the señor governor to our very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, preacher, *procurador general*, commissary of the Holy Office, *custodio habitual*, and present commissary *visitador*, in order to transact with him personally some business in his

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 74, Library of the University of Texas.

2. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 75, Library of the University of Texas.

Majesty's service upon which the said señor governor sent me, together with Maestre de Campo Diego Lucero de Godoy and Sargento Mayor Gregorio de Valdés, he [Father Ayeta], receiving us, asked to be informed concerning it, since he could not but be entirely at his Majesty's service. There having been read to him the result of the junta from the *auto* provided by his honor, he said that he regretted deeply the failure to accompany the said governor on such an important mission, but he knew that God did not permit it because of his sins, for God sends such occasions as a reward and a sure sign of glory; that nothing more occurred to him to reply except that he would obey absolutely. Calling the major-domo he ordered him to deliver to whatever person the señor governor should send, all the provisions which were now loaded and all the wine that they could carry, and all the mules, harness, and arms necessary, and the men needed for the wagons. He said that at the cell where he dwelt all the señores soldiers would be supplied with anything they might need, since everything in the storerooms and all that had been unloaded from the wagons was intended for their assistance, and for all those who were engaged in his Majesty's service. He begged me to wait a moment while he named and designated chaplains, and, summoning all the religious, he went into the refectory among them and in a very short time came out and said that he had appointed the father preacher, Fray Joseph Ormachea, and Fathers Fray Francisco de Vargas and Fray Antonio Guerra; and that if we approved to advise him, and if we desired more to so state, for all the rest would like nothing better than to be taken along to have a part in an enterprise so important to the service of both Majesties. He gave this as his reply, and asked to be given a certificate of the promptness of his obedience, which he again promised, and also to aid them with the men and supplies that he could gather up to be sent after them. He signed it, the witnesses being the said maestre de campo and sargento mayor mentioned above, on the said day, month, and year. FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA, commissary visitador; GREGORIO DE VALDÉS, witness; DIEGO LUCERO DE GODOY, witness. I certify to it. LORENZO DE MADRID, secretary of war.

*Auto in which it appears that the assistance was received from Father Ayeta. [El Paso, August 28, 1680.]*¹

On the said day, month, and year, the reply of the very reverend father visitador being seen, after giving thanks to God I ordered that there be received, as in fact there was received, all that could be carried of supplies and stores; and that the news be spread throughout the camp among the soldiers and other persons so that they may apply to the said very reverend father for whatever they may need. And I ordered in the name of his Majesty that he be given not only the certification but many thanks, and that the same be tendered to the entire Order of our seraphic father, Saint Francis, for the kindness, charity, and love with which they are aiding us in this recent tragedy, to the service of God and the king. I expressed the wish that they will always do as they have done hitherto, in so far as they are able, and ordered that they give him such certification as he may request, since there is no time to inform the señores ministers and the viceroy of what is taking place. I so provide, order, and sign, to which I certify. PEDRO DE LEIVA. Before me, to which I certify. LORENZO DE MADRID, secretary.

This agrees with the original *autos* which remain in my possession, from which I took this copy which is carefully and accurately made, to which I certify. Witnesses of the copying, correcting, and comparing are Maestre de Campo Diego Lucero and Sargento Mayor Gregorio de Valdés; and at the request of our very reverend father visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, and by order of the señor maestre de campo gobernador, I give these presents in this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso del Río del Norte on the 28th of August, 1680. I make my sign in testimony of the truth. LORENZO DE MADRID, secretary of war.

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 77. Library of the University of Texas.

*Another letter of Governor Pedro de Leiva and other officials
[to the viceroy. El Paso, August 29, 1680].¹*

Most Excellent Sir: God, our Lord, has seen fit to send hardships to us, his Majesty's poor vassals, who have been serving him with our lives and property, without any salary, and defending the faith of Jesus Christ, as your excellency will see from these *autos*, thanks to God.

Our father visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, who is more than a father to us, gave us this news and promised in the name of the king to help us, and together with all the religious to die with us, like good friars. We are retiring to our tents, and having seen that according to what the couriers say our wives, children, and property already have been killed and lost, but that there is still some hope of finding alive the señor governor and captain-general, Don Antonio de Otermín, and the residents and Christians of whom these letters speak, and that it may be that our governor, with the cabildo and the most valiant and loyal vassals, are besieged, and that there are other matters of which we can not know, we have determined, few as we are, to die in an attempt to liberate our governor, the religious, and the Christians, as your excellency will see from the papers and writings, and to restore everything, as did those of Covadonga against the Moorish dogs. Since we must not delay our arrival for an hour, our father visitador will write for us, sending what news we have, and I and the military officers will advise him that we wrote this to your excellency, along with the rest. Farewell, Sir, and may God keep your excellency for us, and our king and lord, Señor Carlos II. To-day, the day of our departure, August 29, 1680. The governor and other officials kiss your excellency's hand. PEDRO DE LEIVA; DIEGO LUCERO DE GODOY; GREGORIO DE VALDÉS, alguacil mayor of the villa of Santa Fe; LORENZO DE MADRID, by request of and for Alonso del Río, regidor; ALONSO RAMÍREZ; GREGORIO VALDÉS; GONZALO DE PAREDES.

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 81, Library of the University of Texas.

*Letter of the governor of El Parral, Don Bartolomé de Estrada [to the viceroy. El Parral, July 22, 1680].*¹

Most Excellent Sir: Although I wrote to your excellency a few days ago by the courier whom I dispatched to that city, I avail myself of the occasion of this one, whom Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta is sending, giving a detailed account to your excellency of what took place in New Mexico. These notices are no more favorable, except that they say the governor has escaped and that he was in great danger, he having acted as was always to be expected of his sense of duty.

The destruction of all the temples, sacred vessels, and vestments, shows the iniquity of those barbarians and the hatred which they feel for our holy faith. These are sufficient reasons for war being waged against them without mercy, and for declaring all those who may be captured slaves for a period of ten years, in the manner which was done formerly. Although his Majesty's orders may oppose this, I hold it impossible, except at very great cost to his royal treasury, that that province can be recovered or settled, if those captured are not declared slaves, because the citizens who are left will be encouraged with these spoils to continue the war at their own expense and others will join them. With all this, these barbarians will not receive the just punishment which they deserve. By such means, and with the assistance of some more people, as your excellency has provided on other occasions, I regard it as certain that all the citizens who are left will be heartened to seek the enemy and punish them as they deserve, and they can once more recover that kingdom; without this means I regard it as very difficult.

I am now, most excellent Sir, preparing to make an entrada in search of the enemies who are molesting us in this kingdom—an expedition more necessary to-day because of the bad example of New Mexico. I am awaiting the arrival of the soldiers from Sinaloa for whom I sent an order to Don Isidro de Atondo, in virtue of that which I had from his Majesty. I fear, never-

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 122, Library of the University of Texas.

Evidently the date of this document is erroneous; see the decree of October 19, 1680, translated below, p. 112.

theless, that he will not send them, in view of his finding himself so favored by the dispatches of the general junta, giving him absolute supervision over the jurisdiction which this government has in the province of Sinaloa. Although I offered the supervision with the attachment which I owe to his Majesty's service, and would always give it to the said admiral or to a person acceptable to him if he asked me to do so—giving him the title of alcalde mayor and war captain, which his predecessor, Don Pedro Hurtado de Castilla, had, who was also captain of the presidio of Sinaloa with a commission from your excellency, like the said Don Isidro—it is not the same to offer a thing as to say that they may usurp it, as the said Don Isidro has done. However, in this city I did what I should and what I could, which was to offer it. The dispatches could not be issued because I had not taken possession of this government, to which appertains the issuing of them, and I waited a year to see if he would ask me for them. He not having done so, and having intruded into the jurisdiction, I dispatched a commission of alcalde mayor to another person, whom he has also hindered. I am persuaded that in his pride he will do the same with his Majesty's order, of which I sent him a certified copy.

I hope that your excellency will see fit to curb this individual, since, for the purpose of the conquest of the Californias, it is not convenient to take away the jurisdiction which this government has always had, and particularly when I shall assist loyally in whatever may come up. May our Lord keep your excellency many years in all grandeur, as I desire and have need. Parral, July 22, 1680. Most excellent Sir, your most humble servant kisses your excellency's feet. DON BARTOLOMÉ DE ESTRADA.

*Letter of Andrés López [de Gracia] to Don Bartolomé de Estrada, in which he notifies him of having arrested two Indians who were plotting a convocation with the Jumas. [August 29, 1680.]*¹

To-day, the 29th of the current month of August, I received the enclosure, which accompanies this so that your lordship may

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 125, Library of the University of Texas.

be pleased to see whether it is possible to send aid, or whatever is required in this most unfortunate case, which I will send with whatever I can to the Río del Norte. I am occupied just at present with another convocation of Indians which those of the Jumas nation have plotted. It is instigated by only a few Indians, who do not number more than eight, two of whom I have captured, and I am now endeavoring to get my hands on the rest through craftiness and by means of presents. According to the information I have, the cause of it all is a mulatto who is on the Río de los Janos, a servant of the said Father Juan Martínez, because of what he did to an Indian, whose ears he cut off. I have issued an order for his imprisonment, and today I am sending a writ to Sonora, in case he should go there. I write no more at present, except to wish that God may keep your lordship in very good health, for our protection. Dated on the said day of 1680. Your humblest servant kisses your lordship's hand. ANDRÉS LÓPEZ DE GRACIA. Señor governor and captain-general, Don Bartolomé de Estrada. My dear Sir.

Letter of the very reverend father procurador and visitador general of the holy custodia of the provinces of New Mexico, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, [to the viceroy. El Paso, August 31, 1680].¹

Most Excellent Sir: The contingency has arrived, through my great sins, of our experiencing the total ruin and resultant loss of these extensive provinces of New Mexico, the great zeal and foresight with which your excellency has supported them during your successful government not having sufficed. For there is no doubt that from its first conquest to the present day, it will not be found in the royal books that during the time of each and every one of your excellency's predecessors, or of all of them together, was there supplied the encouragement and aid which your excellency alone has furnished, as is well and publicly known. If, during my seven years as procurador, a paid presidio has not been established (for his Majesty is not pleased that they be founded in the Indies without the knowledge and

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. IV, p. 72, Library of the University of Texas.

decision of his royal Council of the Indies), your excellency has not ceased to advocate it, and everything else possible for the well-being of the sons of my father, Saint Francis, who minister there, and to grant me as much as you could. If any excess is to be charged to your excellency, it has only been in assisting them, for when you conceded me the supply of arms and horses, your excellency's Catholic and pious mind recognizing, because of the novelty of the matter, a just misgiving on the part of the most prudent gentlemen of the junta as to what the royal Council would think of its haste, it seemed that your excellency, in loftiest piety and zeal, passed from viceroy to procurador, saying, "Gentlemen, first assist New Mexico; a report can be given to his Majesty afterward. They can not understand matters there as clearly as we can, and it is better to apply a remedy for misfortunes beforehand than to mourn them after they have happened." I say this, most excellent Sir, because the *autos* proclaim it, and so that his Majesty (whom God keep), in investigating what has happened, may know the sincerity, fidelity, and truth with which my sacred Order, and I in its name, desiring to comply with our obligation as his loyal vassals and grateful and most favored chaplains, set forth in time our just fears that this nursery of the faith and the stepping stones of so many missions would be lost. This, most excellent Sir, was what it mourned, and not the result, which it had foreseen by signs, of the shedding of blood in the service of both Majesties, as has taken place. Your excellency will recognize this truth from the account that I shall give, based upon the information that we have at present, and I shall continue to investigate, reporting to your excellency and dispatching such couriers as may be necessary, God permitting me.

The cause of the decision which has been made, most excellent Sir, your excellency will recognize from the *autos*, and also the reason for having drawn them up, and for having elected a subject in the person of Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva [as governor]. I can only say to your excellency that it has been the work of God that the said person should have come as commanding officer, for he is undeniably the best in the whole kingdom for this emergency. The governors of New Mexico have

reposed their entire confidence in him in important undertakings, in which he has accomplished many and notable chastisements [of hostile natives]. He has held a commanding position, being superior to all for more than twenty-five years in these parts, and he has been serving his Majesty in these provinces for forty-four years. He is sixty years of age, has been lieutenant general of the governors, and at present is active *maestre de campo* of the whole kingdom. He has much experience and courage in warfare, for which he is held in high esteem. I assure you, most excellent Sir, that if he does not save the present situation, I have no hope that any one, after God, can do so. In view of this I beg your excellency that in case the governor is dead he may receive authority from your excellency and thus be able to command respect, detaining those who may come, making their escape, so that we can make a stand. For if this is not done in this strategic place of El Paso, the same thing will happen with this nation of Indians, and if it rebels, the Conchos, as relatives and friends, will do likewise; and unless God sends a remedy Parral will be lost. Once fortified here [at El Paso], which is the key, the place will be a curb for any movement and the forces will be more easily united, for there are lands and water sufficient for a large settlement.

The confusion, most excellent Sir, that has passed over my small forces since eight o'clock in the morning of the 25th could not be described on many reams of paper, and thus your excellency and all the señores ministers will please overlook the faults of this report, for the will and desire is that of a good vassal, and we are all fatigued and have many tasks to perform. For this reason Father Fray Nicolás López is going [to Mexico] in order to tell what I and the others can not. Your excellency may order that he be heard by the señor minister whom you may see fit to name, so that your excellency may be informed of what has taken place, and of the reasons for the decision of which I am giving a brief account to your excellency. With regard to it, the statements made in the papers which are at the beginning of the *autos*, and which are to be attributed to the disturbed state of those who wrote them, have not weighed so much as the stories of the couriers, and the reports and rumors

which are current, along with the knowledge that the region above Sandia is the principal part of the kingdom, which is believed to be laid waste, and that there was a post and a pueblo with people from La Isleta in the direction of El Socorro. It is undeniable, most excellent Sir, that all in the province of Zuñi and Moqui have perished. An accurate account of them will be given to your excellency and to all the señores ministers by one of the members of your Real Caja, the contador, Don Sebastián de Guzmán y Córdoba, who has the drafts of the original map which I showed to your excellency, and which he made on my request and entreaty from the information that I gave him, I recognizing his inclination and ability and the affection with which he looked upon me as a son of my father, Saint Francis. Some other map as full and as accurate may have been made, most excellent Sir, but I assure you that I have seen none, and I am persuaded, without being at all superstitious, that God permitted it, so that by means of the said contador and the map a full knowledge may be had there of the ruin of which the said papers attempt to tell and do tell; and so that it may be understood that the succor is on the way, and that it is doubtful whether it will arrive, by the grace of God, in time to help them; and so that there may be known also the motives which I had for having them elect here in his Majesty's name a governor to whom they might give authority in the royal name for this action, under the said conditions. There is no lack, most excellent Sir, of those who opposed this election, not from dislike of the person elected but for private reasons. I opposed their going unless it were with a definite leader whom they were to obey, regarding it as conducive to his Majesty's service. When certain interested individuals replied, asking why a governor should be elected, I responded in a clear voice, in the presence of all, "So that, in case by some chance any of the same ones who cast their votes should fall short in the duties of a vassal and in military obedience, he who may be elected by your honors yourselves may execute the offender summarily, according to military usage and without wasting a great deal of paper in writing, for unless an officer with sufficient authority goes, it will be impossible, in case the governor is dead, to avoid the

inconveniences that will arise from every one wishing to be the head."

My small understanding, most excellent Sir, is much disturbed, and if it were not, it still is not easy to recount things as they were, but I go on to do as well as I can. While the twenty-seven men assembled to confer upon their bad news, we religious went to the church to consult with God, our Lord, and His most holy Mother, with our father, Saint Francis, and with Saint Anthony. I found in each one of my religious (touched by charity, and the love of God, and aided by my support) such consolation, help, and spiritual strength as I can not becomingly describe. My pen is animated by its warmth, and my tardy and sluggish movement is hastened. We came out from the presence of the true Help in time of need, consoled and content. They summoned me to the junta; the *autos* will tell what passed there. Until the 25th and the 26th the wagons were being unloaded; on the 27th the military stores and provisions were loaded, and that night we happened to discover the danger in which we were, of which the bearer will tell. My departure was prevented on the morning of the 28th, and the rest of that day and the 29th were spent in arming the youths whom the twenty-seven soldiers were bringing along without arms, and in assembling all the forces for the wagons, choosing the best ones, and such stowaways as I could by dint of bribery, so that the number of harquebusiers came to seventy-eight in all, and not even one affected to be crippled in order to be rejected. By this means fifty-one more men were armed and made ready, with four religious as chaplains to confess and help them. I assisted them generously, for in such cases niggardliness and calculation are not becoming, and so I gave each one what he asked. There was one man who came shamelessly three times to help himself, but although it was known, so that he might not be dismayed by haggling, I presented the premium which I had promised them on the return. I acted simply and generously, this being my natural inclination. Finally, most excellent Sir, the day of the 30th came and they left, under God's care, but so encouraged and with such ardor that I promise myself great things. He who goes in command has lost his wife; his small

farm; three daughters, two of them grown; three sons, thirty years of age and more; and eight grandchildren. He who goes as *maestre de campo* has lost his mother, three sisters, and no little property, as it is reckoned here.

He who goes as *sargento mayor* also has lost some property, his wife, and three children; and, to cut short the account, most excellent Sir, among the twenty-seven soldiers of the main body, there are not three who have not lost, in some cases, father, mother, brothers, sisters; in others, children; and in others, their wives. The youths among them (who are not able to bear arms), although inferior in station and property, of which they have none, share the sorrow of their relatives. All are going absolutely raging; I believe under God that each one must be reckoned as ten men. They are taking eleven entire sets of armor, which I had for the horses, with coats of mail, helmets, etc., all of which I had for guarding these wagons, and it was a great deal. Each man carries two pounds of powder and a hundred shot, and there is a reserve supply of four thousand shot and two casks of powder for the relief of the Christians, and with which they may fight. I trust in God that they may be found alive. If Governor Don Antonio de Otermín is living and besieged—and certainly he is not dead—I do not doubt, your excellency, that they will relieve him and will mete out terrible punishment to the enemies and rebels.

The governor, most excellent Sir, goes with the understanding that if he finds the Spaniards whom we believe to be coming where we expect them, I shall go with the necessary guard to convoy the women and children, and the rest of the men will augment his very small army or division; and he will send word of what he needs, which I shall send him by the same men who are coming as convoy, together with such men as I can spare from the wagons; and some who will come with the mule trains which I have requested by way of aid from the valley of Casas Grandes, I shall dispatch as a second relief. In order to facilitate the latter, the tasks of making flour, biscuits, dried beef, and shot are being continued.

I am writing to the governor and captain-general of El Par-
ral, Don Bartolomé de Estrada, asking him to send me at least a

dozen vagrants, for I know already that he can not send me even one soldier, because he does not have any, and his lordship is in no less danger and difficulty than we—according to the report which I sent to him verbally by the bearer of this letter—from the multitude of Indians which they have told us are going to pillage the valley of San Bartolomé and to kill all the Spaniards, as I judge they will do, for the forty soldiers whom he has are nothing in comparison with the present number of the Indians. From the little that I have seen, we are all in the same situation. In short, most excellent Sir, I shall do everything I can at the moment, for this is no time for aid from a distance. That which was coming in the wagons for the religious, and a bill of purchases for the governor (Joseph de Retes loaned the money and the treasurer of the mint gave him a note) are a very considerable and prompt relief. That which I can not supply with what I have, can not be remedied at present with all the silver in the cajas reales of Mexico. Thus I neither ask, nor is there needed anything, little or much, by way of aid.

With the outcome of the relief which is now on the way, I shall see what the conditions are—whether the ruin has been total or is susceptible of restoration. I shall make a report to your excellency of what is resolved upon, by divine favor and grace, as seeming to me to be conducive to the service of both Majesties.

According to the most accurate verification, I find that the religious who have perished with their flocks number twenty-seven, twenty-five priests and two lay brothers. May God keep them in His glory.

What has been lost in temples, vestments, and sacred vessels is not now known. When this tragic comedy is ended, the count will be made. Those of us who are here are still hoping to play our parts, but are animated by and zealous for the divine goodness, so that the advancement of the Order of my seraphic father, Saint Francis, may be assured in these which the world calls losses, they being really the richest treasure of the church.

I conclude, most excellent Sir, by asking your excellency for three things: That your excellency's great Christian spirit may facilitate the working of divine justice and assist us with

your support. If this can happen here today, another time it may be elsewhere, and in La Vizcaya, most excellent Sir, and in Sonora, your excellency may fear that without a good example from their neighbors they will suffer many disasters.

Second, I ask that your excellency, in conformity with the tenor of the *autos*, and in case Don Antonio de Otermín may be dead, shall send me with all haste a courier bringing appointment in due form for the said person whom they elected here, so that he can thereby prevent those who escape from deserting, and can make a stand, and so that the thistles of ambition among them can be trampled down. And I ask that you send for all those who may come out a common letter of encouragement from your excellency, so that there may not be envy among them.

Third, I ask that your excellency correct the errors and excesses that I may have committed in what I have done and in the decision that I have taken, and pardon me for them in view of the fact that they spring from a most intense desire to meet the obligations of a good vassal and of the unworthy prelate of these provinces. I ask also that you send by special courier on the receipt of this dispatch, orders as to what I and my brothers are to do, which we shall obey unfailingly and to the last detail as mandates of your excellency, whose illustrious person and necessary life may God, our Lord, keep, for our protection and the good of the monarchy, as I desire. Paso del Río del Norte, August 31, 1680. Most illustrious and excellent Sir. My dear Sir, your most devoted servant and humble chaplain kisses your excellency's feet. FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA.

*Letter of Maestre de Campo Alonso García to Maestre de Campo Leiva, in which he advises him that the governor is alive and that the enemy has killed his family and others. [Fray Cristóbal, September 4, 1680.]*¹

Señor Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva. My dear Sir: I received your honor's letter and take infinite satisfaction in learning of your good health. May God bless you for many

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 120, Library of the University of Texas.

years, as well as our comrades, at whose service I am for whatever may be their pleasure.

To-day, the date of this letter, I and all this camp had the great pleasure of learning from our governor and captain-general that he is marching in this direction, and the four comrades who overtook me in this place of Fray Cristóbal say that he is stopping at the house of Maestre de Campo Tomás Domínguez. I am leaving immediately to meet his lordship to see what are his orders. That with which he charges me most urgently is to notify your honor and our Father Ayeta, in order to assure speedy assistance with the wagons. Courage, friend! Since it comes from above and God, our Lord, has ordained it so, we must conform to His holy will. The entire kingdom is lost, the temples, the religious, and the sacred vestments are destroyed. It has been God's work to save what has been saved. Since your honor's house and your family are so far from the villa, I learned to-day that they destroyed it. I am equally grieved at the misfortune of my son Lázaro, who also was there. And so I charge again, for the love of God, that we conform to His most holy will.

Concerning all that has happened I refer you to a letter which I am writing to our father procurador, and because of my haste I write no more. Meanwhile, good-bye, my friend, until we meet. I heartily wish that it may be very soon; the señor governor tells me so to write to our father procurador. From this place of Fray Cristóbal, September 4, 1680. Your honor's most devoted servant and friend kisses your hand.
ALONSO GARCÍA.

Letter of the alcalde mayor of Los Jemez for Gregorio de Valdés, in which he advises him of the general uprising of the Indians and of how the governor was retreating from the country. [Fray Cristóbal, September 4, 1680.]¹

Señor Captain, master, benefactor, and my dear Sir: I do not dwell at length upon distresses; I say only that the uprising was general. They have killed every one at Los Taos, along

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 118, Library of the University of Texas.

with the religious who were there, and some at La Cañada, including the guardianes, except Fray Andrés. Our father custodian died with the other guardianes of that jurisdiction and the residents of it. In short, the lightning struck as far as the house of Cristóbal de Anaya (may he rest in peace).

At this moment the señor governor is marching out with all the people of the villa, Cañada, and Cerrillos. My *comadre* is coming safely with my nephews. I say no more because of my haste. I, my comrade and friend, escaped with the religious of my jurisdiction, with the exception of Father Fray Juan de Jesús, whom they killed. I refer you for everything to the letter which Maestre de Campo Alonso García wrote to our very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta.

I send my regards to all my friends and intimates, and very particularly to my friend Captain Paredes, and state that my *comadre* and her sons are well.

Good-bye, my dear friend. From this place of Fray Cristóbal, September 4, 1680. Your honor's comrade, friend, and servant kisses your hand. LUIS GRANILLO.

It agrees with the original letters which remain in the archives of the notary's office, to which I refer. This transcript was taken from them by order of our very reverend father visitador. It is accurate and correct, witnesses to its copying and correcting being the father preachers, Fray Juan Muñoz de Castro, Fray Pedro Gómez de San Antonio, and Fray Felipe Daza, in testimony of which I give the present attestation, subscribed and signed by my hand, in this convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, on September 11, 1680. I affix my sign in testimony of the truth. FRAY JUAN ALVAREZ, secretary.

*Letter of the lieutenant general for our father visitador, in which he advises him that the governor is alive, and that he is retreating. [Fray Cristóbal, September 4, 1680.]*¹

Our very reverend father procurador and commissary of the Holy Office, procurador visitador of this holy custodia, Fray

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 139, Library of the University of Texas.

Francisco de Ayeta: I do not know how to express to your reverence the joy and happiness which we have experienced to-day, the date of this letter, in having had news of my governor and captain-general, who now is at the house of Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez, and with him the majority of the families from Los Cerrillos to La Cañada.

His lordship has been in very great danger, having come out wounded, with many of his comrades, in the encounters that they had in the villa. They resulted in the massacre of more than three hundred Indians of all nations, Christians and Apaches, and Maestre de Campo Andrés Domínguez and two other young men were killed there. Seeing himself in great danger, his lordship determined to retire from the villa, cutting his way through a vast force that had invested it. It has been God's will that they have escaped up to the present, taking the same route that I have followed with the whole jurisdiction of Spaniards of the lower river [Río Abajo], except Captain Agustín de Carbajal and his household and Sargento Mayor Cristóbal de Anaya and his household. Most of the religious are dead, among them the reverend father custodian, there having escaped only the father guardián, Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, Fray Andrés Durán, Fray Juan Zavaleta, Fray Francisco Muñoz, Fray Nicolás Hurtado, Fray Antonio de Sierra, Fray Francisco Farfán, Fray Tomás de Tobalina, Fray Joseph de Bonillo, Fray Diego de Parraga, and Fray Diego de Mendoza. All the rest we believe to be dead, since the conspiracy was so general, and occurred on a single day, the tenth of last month. No one escaped from Moqui to Taos, nor even among the Yutas. Sargento Mayor Sebastián de Herrera, who, by chance, had gone to Taos with his wife, his mother-in-law, and his brother-in-law, as he returned from among the Yutas learned through news that they had that all the families, large and small, along with three religious, had perished at the hands of the Taos and Apaches. Only the said sargento mayor and Don Fernando de Chávez escaped miraculously from so many enemies. They overtook me at the pueblo of El Alto, where I then informed myself in more detail of what had happened. For when the said persons came within sight of the villa, they

saw that the enemy was engaging our forces, the señor governor and the others being confined to the two forts which are in the palace. Most of the villa being in flames, they turned back to escape from there, and eventually joined us, as has been stated.

The señor governor tells me to advise your reverence of the state in which he finds himself, which must certainly arouse great pity in every one, at seeing so many children and women on foot, naked, and dying of hunger, according to reports that have reached us, they not having been able to escape with even a shirt.

The señor governor informs me that all the rest are coming in the same plight. Let your reverence reflect upon the afflictions that the señor governor and all those of us who are present will have experienced. I am going out to meet the señor governor and to ascertain his lordship's decision, leaving all the families in this place, guarded by most of the men.

It is said that nothing remains of the temples and sacred vestments—that they have burned everything. From your reverence's report and from the necessary slowness of the señor governor, I judge that he will arrive here at about the same time as the wagons with the supplies. That which the señor governor urges me most strongly is to advise your reverence as quickly as possible, for the relief of such great suffering.

Meanwhile, may our Lord keep your reverence for the protection of so many poor people, who desire to see you with the spiritual increase which your reverence merits. In this place of Fray Cristóbal, to-day, September 4, 1680. Your reverence's humblest servant, who kisses your feet. ALONSO GARCÍA.

*Letter from Father Fray Antonio de Sierra to the father visitor. [Fray Cristóbal, September 4, 1680.]*¹

Our Very Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta: To-day, the date of this letter, in this place of El Contadero, upon leaving for San Cristóbal, we had news from Señor Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general, to the effect that he was marching in retreat from the upper country to overtake us,

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-8-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 144, Library of the University of Texas.

withdrawing from the villa (where he was attacked by the Christian Indians of all the pueblos), and that we were to await him wherever his dispatch should reach us. The lieutenant general is halting to wait for him near this pueblo of Fray Cristóbal. He is sending six men and is going himself to meet him with some supplies from the few that we have with us. Our having received notice of the governor's escape, along with most of the people of the villa, is a miracle. It was only those from there and a few from La Cañada who were able to assemble, though hurriedly, for the news of the conspiracy was given but two days ahead of the event, in the pueblo of Santo Domingo, where religious and Spaniards alike perished. Some escaped by dint of hard riding, as did the father definidores, Fray Francisco Muñoz, Fray Tomás Tobalina, and Fray Nicolás Hurtado, who came in this first and principal camp of the lieutenant general.

In the señor governor's camp are Fathers Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, Fray Andrés Durán, and Fray Francisco Farfán. The last-named father arrived to-day with four men and a letter from the señor governor. There escaped also the fathers of La Isleta, Fray Juan Zavaleta and Fray Diego de Parraga; the father compañero of Sandia, Fray Joseph de Bonillo; and I, who was in Isleta on the occasion mentioned. My escape from there was a divine dispensation, through circumstances which I will tell personally, or of which your reverence will learn from many persons. All the rest have perished. The Indians who have done the greatest harm are those who have been most favored by the religious and who are most intelligent. Many of them have already paid with their lives in the fighting in the villa, where the entire battery was, as well as a large number of Indians. The latter, terrified by the conflict, gave the Spaniards an opportunity to retire from the villa with small loss, although that of Sargento Mayor Andrés Gómez Parra and other soldiers was a great one. According to reports, few were wounded, among them the señor governor. From Taos my friends Sebastián de Herrera and Don Fernando de Chávez escaped, fighting; the former was greeted with shots from the Taos on his return from the Yutas. Seventy-six Span-

iards are already dead (according to the count of men, women, and children). The Indians, accompanied by Apaches, began to fight in La Cañada, killing some Spaniards and some religious; yet through the grace of God two camps are coming with sufficient men to enable them to resist the enemy. The lack of supplies, however, will greatly prolong the journey, unless your reverence assists with provisions and munitions. We are eating only meat, and now that the señor governor is expected, he being in the house of Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez, supplies will be very scarce.

We know nothing of the province of Moqui; doubtless the religious there has perished, and since nothing has been heard up to the present there is no hope; the same is true of Zuñi, for the conspiracy is general. All the fathers commend themselves to your reverence, as do the Spanish citizens, as this letter comes from all in common. May God, our Lord, keep your reverence as we, your children, desire. Place of Fray Cristóbal, September 4, 1680. Your son who loves you kisses your reverence's hand. [FRAY ANTONIO DE SIERRA.]

Declaration of one of the rebellious Christian Indians who was captured on the road. [Place of El Alamillo, September 6, 1680.]

In the place of El Alamillo, jurisdiction of El Socorro, on the 6th day of the month of September, 1680, for the prosecution of this case, and so that an Indian who was captured on the road as the camp was marching may be examined, in order to ascertain the plans, designs, and motives of the rebellious enemy, his lordship, the señor governor and captain-general, caused the said Indian to appear before him. He received the oath from him in due legal form, in the name of God, our Lord, and on a sign of the cross, under charge of which he promised to tell the truth concerning what he might know and as he might be questioned. Having been asked his name and of what place he is a native, his condition, and age, he said that his name is Don Pedro Nanboa, that he is a native of the pueblo of Alameda, a widower, and somewhat more than eighty years of age. Asked for what reason the Indians of this kingdom have rebelled,

forsaking their obedience to his Majesty and failing in their obligation as Christians, he said that for a long time, because the Spaniards punished sorcerers and idolaters, the nations of the Teguas, Taos, Pecuríes, Pecos, and Jemez had been plotting to rebel and kill the Spaniards and the religious, and that they had been planning constantly to carry it out, down to the present occasion. Asked what he learned, saw and heard in the juntas and parleys that the Indians have held, what they have plotted among themselves, and why the Indians have burned the church and profaned the images of the pueblo of Sandia, he said that he has not taken part in any junta, nor has he harmed any one; that what he has heard is that the Indians do not want religious or Spaniards. Because he is so old, he was in the cornfield when he learned from the Indian rebels who came from the sierra that they had killed the Spaniards of the jurisdiction and robbed all their haciendas, sacking their houses. Asked whether he knows about the Spaniards and religious who were gathered in the pueblo of La Isleta, he said that it is true that some days ago there assembled in the said pueblo of La Isleta the religious of Sandia, Jemez, and Zia, and that they set out to leave the kingdom with those of the said pueblo of La Isleta and the Spaniards—not one of whom remained—taking along their property. The Indians did not fight with them because all the men had gone with the other nations to fight at the villa and destroy the governor and captain-general and all the people who were with him. He declared that the resentment which all the Indians have in their hearts has been so strong, from the time this kingdom was discovered, because the religious and the Spaniards took away their idols and forbade their sorceries and idolatries; that they have inherited successively from their old men the things pertaining to their ancient customs; and that he has heard this resentment spoken of since he was of an age to understand. What he has said is the truth and what he knows, under the oath taken, and he signs and ratifies it, it being read and explained to him in his language through the interpretation of Captain Sebastián Montaña, who signed it with his lordship, as the said Indian does not know how, before me, the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); SEBASTIÁN MON-

TAÑO (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

[*Statement of Pedro García. Place of El Alamillo, September 6, 1680.*]

Following the above there appeared before his lordship an Indian named Pedro García, a sworn witness in these *autos*, and he stated under oath that he remembers distinctly that the captains of the Tagnos told him before the revolt that they had desired and discussed it in these parts for more than twelve years; that the said Indians wished to rebel because they resented it greatly that the religious and the Spaniards should deprive them of their idols, their dances, and their superstitions. His lordship ordered it recorded as a judicial proceeding, and signed it with Alcalde Juan Lucero and Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana, before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Order of arrest against the person of the lieutenant general, Alonso García. [Place of El Alamillo, September 6, 1680.]

Then immediately, on the said day, month, and year, there appeared in the presence of his lordship, the señor governor and captain-general, Maestre de Campo Alonso García, lieutenant general of the jurisdictions of Río Abajo, who, without orders or notice from his lordship, marched out with a number of Spanish soldiers, going six leagues beyond the jurisdiction of the settled part of the kingdom to the place that they call Fray Cristóbal. There he received a message from me, which I sent by four men, who were to overtake him and the rest and have them return to the pueblo of Senecú, which is the last one in the jurisdiction. In it I directed him to aid me with some carts and animals for the relief of the thousand persons who were marching in this army, so that, after joining and incorporating the people under my command with those who were following the said lieutenant general, we might discuss and confer upon

that which is conducive to the royal service in the defense of this kingdom, since I had not found the abovesaid persons before, having believed that they would all be waiting in the pueblo of La Isleta. So that the matter may be explained and cleared up, and in order to learn for what reasons and with what orders the said lieutenant general marched out, and for the purpose of bringing a charge against him, by this *auto* I order that he be placed under arrest, and that he shall not leave this royal army until the case is decided. For the prosecution of the case in accordance with the law, let him be notified personally of this *auto* by the secretary of government and war, his reply being placed at the end of it, so that it may be recorded. I so provided, ordered, and signed before the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Notification and arrest. [Place of El Alamillo, September 6, 1680.]

On the said day, month, and year, I, the secretary of government and war, by order of the señor governor and captain-general, there being present as witnesses Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana and Captain Francisco Xavier, made known personally the *auto* contained herein to Maestre de Campo Alonso García. Having heard and understood it, he said that as soon as the general revolt came to his attention, he, as lieutenant general, received immediately, on the same day, a request for help from Captain Luis Granillo, alcalde mayor of the district of Los Jemez, whom the enemy held in his pueblo along with another soldier named Joaquín de Bonilla, and two priests. He reported that the Indians had already proclaimed the rebellion and taken up arms, letting it be understood that they had already killed the señor governor and captain-general and that they would kill the said alcalde mayor, the other soldier, and the two religious; and the said Indians did kill one of them. The lieutenant general went in person to their relief with eight men, to defend the above-said persons as well as the religious of Zia and other residents of that jurisdiction. He did in fact

arrive with the relief just as the said alcalde mayor and the other soldier fled out into the country, fighting, about a league from the pueblo, the guardián religious fleeing ahead of them on horseback, leaving the other one dead. If the said lieutenant general had not arrived, both the combatants and the religious of Zia would have perished, as well as the residents of that jurisdiction. Night having fallen and he having received the news that the Indians had killed three religious and four Spaniards in the pueblo of Santo Domingo, he continued throughout the night to ascertain what had happened, traveling throughout the jurisdiction. He saw that the rebels had killed Captain Agustín de Carbajal and his wife and family, and also he found Captain Cristóbal de Anaya dead in his house, with two of his sons, who were soldiers, his wife, three children, and other persons to the number of twelve. Six other men were found dead on the road from Santo Domingo to San Felipe, and there was a report current that the señor governor and captain-general and the people of the villa were dead, as well as every one in the jurisdictions from Sandia to Los Taos, which is the greater part of the territory of the kingdom. Whereupon he rounded up his horses as well as he could, abandoning his cattle and hacienda, and, reinforced by six of his sons, he stood watch, waiting for the enemy who were deploying all around his house in mounted squadrons, besieging him closely, he having no help from any one or any means of asking for it. Finally, one night, after two days had passed, he received news that the religious and the residents of his jurisdiction were leaving, because of its being said that the señor governor and the people of the villa and of the other jurisdictions had been destroyed. As a loyal vassal of his Majesty, he never wished to abandon his house, but rather he attempted to fortify himself there and learn for certain about his lordship, to see if he could assist him, but the roads were infested by the enemy, the best proof of this fact being that of three orders which his lordship sent him, not one came into his hands, because of the rebels. Notwithstanding that he found the religious and the residents determined to leave the kingdom, abandoning their crops and houses, he drew up *autos* and held judicial juntas for the purpose of detaining

them until receiving definite news from his lordship. This he was unable to do, as is apparent from the *autos*, which he exhibits to his lordship in three written folios, and one blank folio. He begs and petitions his lordship to examine them and place them with his *autos* so that his good faith may be apparent. On receiving the news of his lordship's march he set out at once to meet him with a supply of animals. He being a man who has served his Majesty with a hundred horses, six sons, and all his property in the greatest conflicts that have taken place in this kingdom, assisting in the campaigns and convoys and taking part in the most important punitive expeditions, in which he has risked his person, as is a matter of public knowledge—for which reasons and others which support him and which he can advance, and because he is prompt to serve his Majesty—he begs and petitions his lordship to be pleased to declare him free and absolved of the arrest and charge, a measure which he will find to be just in view of his instruments. He gave this as his reply and signed it before me and the witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric), witness; FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric).

Auto. [Place of El Alamillo, September 6, 1680.]

His lordship having seen the reply of the said lieutenant general and the instruments presented, he ordered that they be placed with the *autos* so that they may be examined and so that in view of them justice may be done. He so provided, ordered, and signed, before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

[Auto of Alonso García. La Isleta, August 14, 1680.]

These *autos* were presented on August 6—correction, September 6—, 1680, to his lordship, the señor governor and captain-general.

In the pueblo of La Isleta on the 14th day of August, 1680, I, Maestre de Campo Alonso García, lieutenant governor and captain-general of the jurisdictions of Río del Norte Abajo by appointment of Señor Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and

captain-general of these provinces of New Mexico, state that on Sunday, the 11th of the said month, some of the residents of the jurisdiction of Sandia arrived, who were retreating with their families from the general conspiracy which all the Christian Indians had formed in order to destroy the said provinces, and to kill all the priests and residents in them, as in fact they have succeeded in doing. For in the pueblo of Santo Domingo on the day of the glorious San Lorenzo they killed the Christians of the said pueblo, the reverend fathers, Fray Juan de Talabán and Fray Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, definidor actual of this holy custodia and minister guardián of the said convent, and another as well, the reverend father preacher, Fray Joseph Montes de Oca. They killed also Sargento Mayor Andrés de Peralta, justicia mayor and war captain of the said pueblo; and Alférez Estevan Barcia and Nicolás López. They were headed by a Spanish-speaking Indian interpreter, named Alonso Catití. Then they killed Joseph de Guadarrama and his wife, and on the following day they killed Captain Agustín de Carbajal and Doña Damiana de Mendoza, his wife, and all his family; and likewise Sargento Mayor Cristóbal de Anaya and his wife, Doña Lenor de Mendoza, together with his whole family. The same perfidy and treason appeared in the pueblo of Los Jemez, but the reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco Muñoz, miraculously escaped from them, and came out with Sargento Mayor Luis Granillo, alcalde mayor of the said pueblo, and three soldiers who accompanied him. The whole community of the said pueblo followed them, fighting, as far as the pueblo of Zia. If I, the said lieutenant general, had not gone out to meet the said ambushade with four soldiers whom I took along, they might have killed the said father preacher, Fray Francisco Muñoz, and Sargento Mayor Luis Granillo, and the said three soldiers. At Zia we found the reverend father definidor, Fray Nicolás Hurtado, minister guardián of the said pueblo, and in consideration of the multitude of the Christian enemy and of not having the forces which the case demanded for resisting the said enemy, I was forced to require the said Father Fray Nicolás Hurtado to leave the pueblo at once. We did in fact leave, and the said Christians, mocking us, rang the bells, shout-

ing loudly. After I withdrew with the said two reverend fathers, the rebellion became greater, and it was generally reported that the señor governor and captain-general, Don Antonio de Otermín, was dead, he having been fortified in the casas reales where he resided, with the religious who were in the convent of the said villa—who were the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena and the Reverend Father Fray Juan Pío—and another religious who was thought to be the very reverend father custodian, Fray Juan Bernal. Since I have received no reports of the other atrocities in the kingdom, on to-day, the 14th of the said month—being in the pueblo of La Isleta with only the reverend father preachers, Fray Juan de Zavaleta, Fray Diego de Parraga, Fray Antonio de Sierra, visitador of the holy custodia, and Father Fray Francisco Muñoz, the said Father Hurtado, the father definidor, Fray Tomás de Tobalina, minister guardián of the convent of San Francisco de Sandia, and the father preacher, Fray Joseph de Bonilla—because of the common report of the deaths of the other religious and of the people of the kingdom in general, in order to determine what may be best for the service of both Majesties and for the preservation of the few families who are now in this said pueblo, I, as lieutenant-governor and captain-general, there being no other judge here, order that those present assemble and give their opinions as vassals of his Majesty, and in the name of God, as to what ought to be done in the present case. They having assembled, Maestre de Campo Juan Domínguez de Mendoza said that in his opinion we should march out in good military order until meeting the wagons which are coming to this holy custodia with the alms, in view of the fact that we now find ourselves short of munitions; and that, having arrived and supplied ourselves from those which are coming in the said wagons, we should go back in together to ascertain the truth of the matter. Having done so, reports should be sent to the king, our lord, through his viceroy and royal audiencia. He gave this as his opinion and signed it with his name. JUAN DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Don Pedro Durán y Chávez said that his opinion conforms to the opinion of Maestre de Campo Juan

Domínguez de Mendoza, because nothing else can be done, and he signs it. PEDRO DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Antonio de Salas said that he agrees wholly with the said opinions for the reasons stated, and he signs it. ANTONIO DE SALAS (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Luis Granillo said that, being justicia mayor of the jurisdiction of Los Jemez, he was advised by an Indian named Muza, a native of the said pueblo, that all the natives of the kingdom wished to rebel, and were planning to do so on the night of August 10 of this year, as in fact happened, for an Indian arrived at noon of the said day and asked publicly in the pueblo what they were doing, why they had not taken up arms and killed the fathers and the Spaniards who were there, as the Taos and Picuríes and Teguas had done in that jurisdiction, from the villa to Taos, and also in those of Cochití, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe. Thus it is known very definitely that the rebellion is general, and there are no forces to put it down, for which reason he conforms to the above opinions, and he signs it. LUIS GRANILLO (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Cristóbal Enríquez said that he agrees with the rest of the opinions given above, and gives this as his opinion; and he signs it. CRISTÓBAL ENRÍQUEZ (rubric).

Captain Juan Luis. My opinion is that because of the rebellion of the natives, in which we see that they are killing a great many religious and soldiers, and are supplied with many fire-arms and leather jackets from a hundred and twenty soldiers whom they have killed, and because of the small forces and the few munitions which the said lieutenant-governor has, I agree with the other opinions. Since he does not know how to sign, a witness signs it. ANTONIO DE SALAS (rubric).

Captain Fernando de Chávez. I state that I conform to the other opinions given above. DON FERNANDO DE CHÁVEZ.

Captain Felipe Romero. Having seen the above opinions, I conform and agree to them. He signs it with his name. FELIPE ROMERO (rubric).

Captain Ignacio Vaca says that he agrees with the above-stated opinions, and accordingly he signs it. IGNACIO VACA (rubric).

All the rest of the captains and soldiers conform to these other opinions, and they agree that it would be well to act upon them before the heathen Apache nation, it being the one that makes war on us, joins the other nations. They all gave this as their opinion and signed it with their names. FRANCISCO ROMERO DE PEDRAZA (rubric); ANTONIO DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric); FRANCISCO DE AGUILAR (rubric); ESTEBAN LUIS [?] GRALIA (rubric); TOMÁS DE ALISO (rubric); LUIS DE AYALA (rubric); JUAN DE SANTIAGO (rubric); PEDRO MÁRQUEZ (rubric); PEDRO VARELA XARAMILLO (rubric); PABLO DE ORTEGA (rubric); FELIPE DE ALBISU (rubric); ANTONIO DE ALBISU (rubric).

I, the said Maestre de Campo Alonso García, lieutenant of the governor and captain-general, having seen the opinions of the maestros de campo, sargentos mayores, captains, and other soldiers here signed, and considering the safety of the few families who remain, and the scarcity of munitions—for they have only what is left in their pouches, and many have none at all—and considering that the enemy rebels are in possession of the royal munitions and of more than a hundred and fifty harquebuses from a hundred and twenty men whom they have killed, along with all their arms and horses and a more considerable number of mares and cattle, enough to maintain for more than four months the Apache nations, who could besiege us in this said pueblo of La Isleta, where we have not even enough munitions for one day, I therefore resolve, in order to make a decision as to what should be done in such a grave matter, that a copy of the above *auto* containing the said opinions be given to the reverend father definidores who are here, they being the father preachers, Fray Nicolás Hurtado, Fray Francisco Muñoz, and Fray Tomás de Tobalina; and also the father guardián, Fray Juan de Zavaleta, and the father preachers, Fray Diego de Parraga, Fray Antonio de Sierra, and Fray José Bonillo, so that as learned and zealous persons they may give their opinions as to what should be done. And in order that this may be recorded permanently, I directed Sargento Mayor Don Pedro Durán y Chávez and Captain Pedro Márquez, as my assisting witnesses, who signed it with me, to indicate [to the fathers] that they

shall sign it with their names. ALONSO GARCÍA; PEDRO DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ (rubric); PEDRO MÁRQUEZ.

The said reverend fathers having seen in the foregoing *auto* the opinions of the maestros de campo, and the said *auto* of the lieutenant general, Alonso García, by whom they were notified, state unanimously and in agreement that, due to the circumstances mentioned, they conform to the said opinions, and they sign it with their names on the said day, month, and year. FRAY NICOLÁS HURTADO (rubric); FRAY TOMÁS DE TOBALINA (rubric); FRAY FRANCISCO MUÑOZ (rubric); FRAY JUAN DE ZAULETA (rubric); FRAY DIEGO DE PARRAGA (rubric); FRAY ANTONIO DE SIERRA (rubric); FRAY JOSEPH DE BONILLO (rubric).

[*Auto of Alonso García. El Socorro, August 24, 1680.*]

Maestre de Campo Alonso García, lieutenant general of the jurisdiction of Río Abajo of this kingdom of New Mexico for the señor governor and captain-general, Don Antonio de Otermín, who is appointed by his Majesty: To-day, the above date, I have arrived at the said pueblo of El Socorro accompanied by most of the residents of the Río del Norte, always exercising due care and vigilance because all the Christian [Indian] inhabitants are in the general convocation against all the religious and the Spanish citizens of this kingdom, killing, robbing, and destroying everything by sword and fire—as it is known that they have killed three religious and some Spaniards in the pueblo of Santo Domingo, and that in many other places they have done likewise—for which reason I was forced to seek the best means of saving and rescuing the many people that this jurisdiction contains, both women and children, who are in manifest danger, as were the people who were going with me, withdrawing until I should find some secure place in which to fortify myself as well as possible. I arrived at the pueblo of Sevilleta, where I found the natives of the said pueblo quiet and peaceful, to all appearances, since they left their pueblo and followed me to that of El Socorro. Both pueblos belong to the Piros nation. In the said pueblo of El Socorro I also found them quiet, and determined to go to the territory outside the pueblo, fearing that they were in danger from the evildoers because they

had not joined the rest when the day set for the general convocation arrived. This day apparently was the tenth of the current month, as was seen, for on it they killed Spaniards and religious. As it appeared to me to be safer in this said pueblo of El Socorro, I decided to leave the families of women and children there, under the protection of a garrison of Spaniards. I would then send with all speed to the convoy of the wagons in which the king, our lord, is sending the alms to the religious who minister in this kingdom, along with the royal munitions, so that they might aid me with them, notifying as quickly as possible the person under whose command they were coming to aid this kingdom in its present danger with sufficient munitions and with the twenty-five men from this kingdom who are in the said wagons. They went by order of the señor governor and captain-general as a guard and protection for the said wagons, and I judged that they would be near here. I decided that as soon as I should be supplied with munitions, I would return from this place to ascertain definitely the position in which my governor and captain-general found himself, along with the other residents of the villa, La Cañada, and Cerrillos. There being no other obstacles to delay me, I have determined to leave at once as soon as the royal munitions arrive, accompanied by the Spaniards who will follow me, which I judge will be all those who are here at present, they being loyal vassals of his Majesty, whom God keep. I declare and proclaim this, my *auto*, in his name, and if any person or persons are of the contrary opinion they may so state at the end of this *auto*, so that we may come to an understanding and may proceed to do that which is most conducive to the service of both Majesties, and so that this fact may be apparent at all times. For my own part, I shall do everything possible to learn in what condition my governor and captain-general is at present, and to aid him and all the said residents, even to giving up my life. On the 20th of the current month, I being with all the citizens of the [lower] river in the place of the Pueblo del Alto, there arrived Sargentos Mayores Sebastián de Herrera and Don Fernando de Chávez, who were retreating from the pueblo of Taos, having come out fighting and defending themselves from the said Taos nation, leaving their wives

and children in the said pueblo, dead at the hands of the Christian Taos and the heathen Apaches, it being an act of God that these two escaped from among so many enemies. Seven days after the day set for the convocation, the said sargentos mayores had approached within sight of the villa, where they saw and distinguished that there were many Spaniards, fighting and defending themselves from some forts that are in the casas reales, and they also saw and heard a shot from a field piece, and saw that a large number of the enemy who were then fighting came out of the villa. I know from this that if, at the end of seven days, as I have said, the enemy has not overcome the villa, it may be inferred that the Spaniards will at present still be defending themselves. I therefore order that, the women and children of all the families being placed in this pueblo of Socorro and protected as well as possible with a garrison of Spaniards to safeguard them, we, the rest of the Spaniards, go in as far as the villa of Santa Fe, or to where we may learn the state in which my governor and captain-general is at present, for such is conducive to the service of God and the king. I so provided, ordered, and signed in the presence of two witnesses on the said day, month, and year. ALONSO GARCÍA, lieutenant general (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

In the pueblo of El Socorro on the said day, month, and year, in compliance with the above *auto*, all the Spanish soldiers who at present are accompanying Maestre de Campo Alonso García, lieutenant general of these provinces of New Mexico, being assembled, he made known this, his *auto*, to the said soldiers. There being present Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza, a person who has held continuously in this kingdom the highest positions in peace and in war, he said that the general revolt of all the Christian Indians, joined with the Indians of the heathen Apache nation, common enemies of the Spaniards, is a matter of common knowledge. With the aid and encouragement of the Apaches, the Christian Indians have killed a great many Spanish children and women and many religious. Some who have escaped and who are here at present have done so by fleeing on horseback, as have the reverend father definidores, Fray Nicolás Hurtado, Fray Tomás de

Tobalina, and Fray Francisco Muñoz, and the father preacher, Fray Joseph de Bonillo. They, with the rest of the Spaniards, came hastily to join together at the pueblo of La Isleta, of the Tiguas nation, and being assembled they managed to intrench and fortify themselves, in order to see whether they might be able to pacify the enemy somewhat. On the contrary, it was seen that many of the Indians of the said pueblo were going over to the enemy, because those of their own nation from the pueblos of Alameda and Sandia were in revolt and had joined the rest, and those of the said pueblo of La Isleta were taking very evident steps to do the same thing, to which end they had countermined all their houses and dwellings and were sending ambassadors to and receiving them from the enemy, and making many other dangerous demonstrations. Thus it was feared that every one would perish there, for which reason they consulted as to what they should do, and it was decided to leave as best they could for safer parts, following the route on which they would meet the wagons which were coming to these provinces from his Majesty. In them were being brought the alms for the religious ministers of these provinces, and the munitions which his Majesty was pleased to send, consisting of powder and shot, which this small camp is now wholly without, and it has many women and children to defend who can not now be abandoned, and there are eight religious, sick and well. The villa being somewhat more than sixty leagues from this post, the men who go there would undoubtedly perish because of the great numbers of the enemy, and those who remain here would infallibly perish also, without human aid. Furthermore, Sargentos Mayores Sebastián de Herrera and Don Fernando de Chávez have arrived, after a miraculous escape from the valley of Los Taos, and they report that all the Spaniards of the said valley, including women and children, as well as the religious, numbering in all something more than seventy persons, were destroyed by the enemy. Continuing their retreat, the sargentos mayores arrived at La Cañada, a Spanish settlement, and found it deserted, with not a single person to whom to speak or from whom to inform themselves about anything. They reached the said Cañada at night, and, continuing on their way in order to

escape, they came within sight of the villa and found it surrounded by an extremely large number of enemies, who were fighting against the said villa. They saw many houses burning, as well as the church of San Miguel and the dwelling of the señor governor and captain-general, which was on fire in two places. Only two small towers were left on it, and on them were some people; they were unable to distinguish whether they were Spaniards or the enemy themselves. They heard a piece of artillery fired, making a faint sound, and they judged that it would be our Spaniards. After a time they saw the enemy retire from there toward the cornfields, burning other houses, and they could not tell whether they were going for good or would return with larger forces. Because of all these circumstances, I am of the opinion that we should withdraw under the best military discipline until we meet the above-mentioned wagons, with which are coming thirty Spaniards who went to escort them. On obtaining munitions, we will go, together with the said Spaniards, to see the good or ill success that our governor and captain-general has had, in order to give a report of everything to the king, our lord. In doing otherwise we shall be lost, for we are defenseless and without munitions in a region in which the Apache enemies are in sight of us, and we have many children and women in this small camp. Furthermore, the Pira nation, which is at this place, is becoming restless, as a result of the enemy's sending an emissary to them. They kept the said ambassador hidden for three days until he was discovered by a Spaniard. All these are evidences of our danger, and thus, as I have said, it is best for us to leave, withdrawing to join the others, as stated, before the enemy closes all doors to us. This is my opinion, which I state because I conscientiously believe it to be to the service of God and of the king, our lord, and conducive to the protection and relief of so many women and children, we having nothing with which to maintain them nor any place from which to get it. We are now living on the meat of some cows and sheep that we were able to bring out, and if we remain in this place the enemy will carry them off without our being able to prevent it, and we shall all perish of hunger. This is his opinion, as he said, and he signed it, together with the said

lieutenant general and the accompanying witnesses, on the said day, month, and year. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); THOMÉ DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

In the said post on the said day, month, and year, Maestre de Campo Juan Domínguez de Mendoza said that he agrees with the opinion of Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza, because it is conducive to the service of both Majesties, and he signed it with his name, together with the said lieutenant general and the accompanying witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); JUAN DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

In the said post on the said day, month, and year, Sargento Mayor Don Pedro Durán y Chávez said that it being an evident fact, as it is, that this small camp is composed of a handful of extremely poor and ill-equipped men, without a supply of arms, munitions, horses, or provisions; and they being burdened with all their families, consisting of children and women, and in a position between the treasonable Christian Indians and the common enemy, the Apache nation, and incapable for every political and military reason of coping with or resisting in any manner the number of enemies who are operating within the sixty leagues which lie between this post and the villa of Santa Fe—for these reasons and many others which I will give whenever they may ask me, I agree with the opinion of Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza. And so that the truth of that which I state in this, my opinion, may always be apparent, I ask and request the señor lieutenant-governor and captain-general to order the maestros de campo, sargentos mayores, and *capitanes reformados* who are in this camp to state whether the propositions which I have advanced in this, my opinion, are admissible, or to contradict them, so that his Majesty's royal service may be best attended to. He gave this as his opinion and signed it with the said lieutenant general and the accompanying witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); JUAN [Pedro?] DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Sebastián de Herrera followed, saying that all the inconveniences that the *maestre de campo* and the *sargento mayor* have stated at the end of the foregoing *auto* are undeniable and true; that although the lieutenant general proposes in his *auto* to fortify himself in this pueblo of El Socorro while word is sent to the wagons belonging to the king, our lord, in which the royal munitions are coming, it is inevitable that during this delay the enemy will invade this small camp, inasmuch as at present all of us are without any munitions or sufficient provisions to be able to make a stand, even for eight days. Therefore, for my part, I am of the opinion that we should march out, always under the command of the said lieutenant general, and observing precautions as hitherto, until we meet the said wagons. This is my opinion, which I uphold. He signs it with the said lieutenant general and the assisting witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); SEBASTIÁN DE HERRERA (rubric); LUIS DE GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Don Fernando de Chávez said that in view of the helplessness and small forces of this little camp, he agrees with the opinion of the *maestre de campo*, Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza, and that this is his opinion, in the name of God. He signed it with the said lieutenant general and his assisting witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); FERNANDO DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Cristóbal Enríquez. I state that I agree with the opinion of *Maestre de Campo* Thomé Domínguez, as given, because of everything he says therein being certain and true, under God; and I signed it with the said lieutenant general and his assisting witnesses in the said post of El Socorro on the said day, month, and year. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); CRISTÓBAL DE ENRÍQUEZ (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Antonio de Salas said that, as for the opinion which *Maestre de Campo* Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza gave, he agrees with it entirely, because of our lack of munitions and the manifest danger in which this small camp is; and because of the enemy being in possession of the said

munitions which were in the *casas reales* of the villa, and of more than two hundred firearms, with which they can surround and besiege this small camp, in alliance with the large number of hostile Apaches. Thus the decision has been very well taken to leave immediately to meet the said wagons and the other men, where something effective in the service of God and the king may be accomplished. This is his opinion and he signed it with the said lieutenant general and his assisting witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); ANTONIO DE SALAS (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Captain Felipe Romero said that, inasmuch as this small camp lacks sufficient forces and is entirely surrounded by enemies, who can communicate for many leagues by means of a smoke signal and can close all doors to us, this camp therefore should not delay, but should march out until we meet the wagons and the men who are escorting them, and then decide what is most conducive to the service of both Majesties. He gives this as his conscientious opinion and he signed it with the said lieutenant general and his assisting witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); FELIPE ROMERO (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Captain Pedro Márquez said that since the opinion of Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza seems to him, in his conscience and under God, to be true, he conforms to it; and he signed it with the lieutenant general and the witnesses who assist him. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); PEDRO MÁRQUEZ (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Captain Ignacio Vaca said that his opinion is that he conforms in everything to the other opinions, for their arguments seem true and convincing; and he signed it with the said lieutenant general and the assisting witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); IGNACIO VACA (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Captain Juan Luis, the elder, said that he conforms entirely to the opinion of Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez, because it is conducive to the service of both Majesties, inasmuch as the manifest danger in which the many women and children are is apparent, and since we are surrounded by many enemies

on all sides, and since this post is dangerous. He signed it with the said lieutenant general and his assisting witnesses in the said post of El Socorro on the said day, month, and year. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); JUAN LUIS (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Captain Joseph Téllez Jirón said that he is of the opinion that this small camp should withdraw to a better place, because of our lack of munitions and horses. The rebellious and conspiring Christians have been plotting for thirteen years to perpetrate the treason which is now being carried out, and the Christian Indians who are now in this said camp are parties to the plot and conspiracy. Thus we, the few Spaniards here, will barely be able to escape with the many children and the women, whose husbands are not here, some being in the provinces of Zúñi, thirty having been sent by order of the señor governor and captain-general to act as guard for the wagons which are bringing the alms to the religious of these provinces, and many others having been killed in the said rebellion. To-day I regard it as impossible for the said Lieutenant General Alonso García to give aid or assistance to the señor governor and captain-general, even from the pueblo of La Isleta, where he went to protect the religious and a custodia [convent?]¹ which was there, dedicated to Jesus Christ, because all the people of these provinces were blocking the roads and proclaiming that all of us, religious and Spaniards, must die, as happened in the pueblos and estancias to the north, not even babes in arms being spared, all the temples being burned, and everything being destroyed. He says that this is his opinion, and he ratifies and signs it with the said lieutenant general and his assisting witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); JOSEPH TÉLLEZ JIRÓN (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Captain Pedro de Sedillo said that he concurs in the opinions of all the rest, and that he always offers his person for the service of God and the king. This is his opinion and he signs it with the lieutenant general and the witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); PEDRO DE ZEDILLO (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

1. The original Spanish copy reads, "una custodia."

Captain Juan Luis, the younger, said that he is ready and willing to serve God and the king on any and every occasion that may arise, and that for the rest he concurs in the opinions of the *maestres de campo*, *sargentos mayores*, and captains. This is his opinion and he signs it with the said lieutenant general and the assisting witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); JUAN LUIS (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Captain Diego Domínguez de Mendoza said that he is of the opinion that this small camp should leave, because of our scant supply of munitions and horses; and that to return to the villa would mean the loss of those who would go there and of those who would remain, along with the large number of women and children who are in this little camp. This is what he conscientiously believes, and is his opinion. He signs it with the said lieutenant general and his assisting witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); DIEGO DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Captain Antonio de Albizu said that he is of the opinion that this camp should march out until they meet the body of troops [with the wagons], because their forces are small and the enemy has the advantage of them. This is my opinion and I sign it with the said lieutenant general and his assisting witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); ANTONIO DE ALBIZU (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Captain Pedro Varela Jaramillo says that he concurs in the opinions of the said *maestres de campo*, *sargentos mayores*, and captains, and he signs it with the said lieutenant general and his assisting witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); PEDRO VARELA JARAMILLO (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Captain Don Fernando Durán y Chávez said that it is his opinion that, leaving this small camp safeguarded, it would be well to go back to the villa of Santa Fe to learn for certain whether they are alive or dead. He gave this as his opinion and signed it with the said lieutenant general and his assisting witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); FERNANDO DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Cristóbal de Tapia said that he agrees with the above opin-

ions, and he signed it with the said lieutenant general and his assisting witnesses. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); CRISTÓBAL DE TAPIA (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

[*Opinion of Luis Granillo. Place opposite El Socorro, August 26, 1680.*]

In this place opposite the pueblo of El Socorro, Lieutenant General Alonso García, in continuation of the judicial proceedings and for the decision which is sought for the better service of both Majesties, there being present Sargento Mayor Luis Granillo, assisting [witness] in these *autos*, alcalde mayor and war captain of the jurisdiction of the Jemez and Queres Indians, procurador general of these provinces, regidor of the villa of Santa Fe, and a person entirely reliable, [he received from him the following opinion]. Granillo stated that while in the pueblo of the Jemez Indians, he received definite notice and information from an Indian named Lorenzo Muza that an ambassador had entered from the enemies of the Jemez nation, who came into the said pueblo highly elated and saying, "Now we have killed the Spanish governor and a great many other Spaniards, and all of them are already destroyed, even to the friars, children, and women. We have killed them all from Los Taos to the pueblo of Santo Domingo; and there lacks [only] Río Abajo where the enemies of the Spaniards are now attacking. Not one will be left alive, because the number of the enemy is very great, alike of heathen Apaches and of all the Christian Indians in general. Therefore take up arms and kill these Spaniards and friars who are here." And this, in fact, the said Jemez Indians did, for, seeing the religious, and me, the said alcalde mayor, and three soldiers who were with me, mounting our horses to retreat, the Jemez Indians attacked so boldly that they followed us for two leagues, fighting us and we resisting them. On this occasion God, our Lord, was pleased that we should encounter the said lieutenant general, who on receiving my news had left immediately to help us. It being after midnight when he met us, and the Indians seeing the said aid, they ceased following and fighting us. From there we

arrived at the pueblo of Zia, where we found the father definidor, Fray Nicolás Hurtado, minister of that pueblo, who was fortified with three Spaniards in the strongest part of the convent, with the beasts shut up inside. God was pleased that they should escape with their lives, with our aid, and also because the Indians of the said pueblo had gone to attack the houses of the Spaniards in its environs, and they came with us. The Indians, already on their way to execute their treason against the said religious and the Spaniards, as soon as they heard us began to shout loudly, at the sound of which those in the pueblo began to ring the bells, and we escaped with great danger and much effort. Then we came to the pueblo of the Santa Ana Indians, of the same nation as those of Zia. Finding no Indians there except some women, we asked them where the men were, and they replied very volubly and boldly that they had gone to kill all the Spaniards. Continuing on our way, we came opposite the pueblo of Sandia, where there was a great crowd of Indian rebels, who, as soon as they saw us, mounted on horseback and began to ride among a large number of beasts, some of which belonged to the Spaniards and the religious whom they had already killed, and others of which they had stolen from the said lieutenant general. The said lieutenant general and I, the others, and the two religious, went about with all haste, gathering up the few Spaniards who had escaped, with the women and children. They left in the houses everything that they had in them, there being no opportunity to take out anything. Very laboriously and slowly, with the Spanish women and children on foot, we reached the pueblo of La Isleta, and we found it as disturbed as the rest. We therefore held a consultation, as a result of which it was decided that we should withdraw, following the route down the river until we were out of the province of the rebellious Indians, during which time God might be pleased to grant that we should meet his Majesty's wagons, for whose protection and escort thirty men were coming, they being residents and soldiers of these provinces whom the señor governor and captain-general had sent for the said convoy and escort. With them we shall be better able to resist, and we will discuss on that occasion what is most conducive to the service

of both Majesties, and to the security of a little more than two hundred Spaniards, old and young, who at present are in this small camp. Most of them are coming on foot, without clothing or shoes, so that it inspires distress and horror to see them. I therefore am of the opinion that we should continue in the same direction as at present, before the enemy advances and makes it impossible for us to escape with our lives, for we are now so short of provisions that it is a pity. If some sheep and cows had not escaped [the Indians], it is certain that we would have perished. The above being my conscientious belief, I gave it as my opinion, concurring with the other foregoing opinions, all of which I have seen and understood while acting as the assistant of the lieutenant general. In order that it may be recorded permanently, I signed it with my name, together with the said lieutenant general, to-day, August 26, 1680. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); JUAN SEVERINO RODRÍGUEZ DE CEBALLOS [Suballe?] (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

[*Auto of Alonso García. Place opposite El Socorro, August 26, 1680.*]

I, Maestre de Campo Alonso García, lieutenant of the governor and captain-general of these provinces, looking as I should to the better service of both Majesties and to the preservation of his Majesty's vassals who have escaped miraculously from the destruction and general rebellion which the Christian Indians have committed, confederated with the heathen enemy of the Apache nation; and being desirous of repairing the damage somewhat by seeing whether, overcoming difficulties and breaking through the enemy, I might be able to succeed in reaching the villa of Santa Fe, headquarters of the señores governors and captains-general; and being, as I am, without arms, munitions, provisions, and other necessary stores alike for offense and defense; and finding myself in a chaos of confusion, I thought it well to assemble for the second time the few Spaniards who are now with me, most of them men of practical experience in military affairs. They being present, I made known to them my *auto*, which is at the head of these documents, in accordance

with which they conferred and consulted upon the best and most effective measures for the service of both Majesties. They indicated with excessive courage that they desired to follow me in the undertaking that I proposed, but on conferring and consulting upon the very many and very great difficulties that we clearly saw before us, they decided that what would be most to the service of God and the king would be to continue to withdraw, under the strictest military discipline possible, as is seen from the said opinions, to which I refer. Having seen them, and nothing else being possible, I conform to them, in the royal name of his Majesty and in accordance with law. For at present and as one who has the matter before him, I can not make any other decision, until so many Spanish women and children, and eight religious, are placed in safety. All of them alike are now defenseless, the women and children are on foot, and there is no fortification where it is possible to resist the enemy. I therefore defer taking the measure or measures that may be possible to me upon meeting his Majesty's wagons, where I expect to find some relief with the munitions and the thirty men. They are citizens of this kingdom whom the señor governor and captain-general sent to convoy the said wagons, concerning which I am also uneasy because of the rumor among the Indians that the rebellion and general convocation extended as far as El Paso, the place where I judge the said wagons to be at present. I thus accepted and accept [the above decision], because no other course is open to me. I signed it and affixed my rubric, together with my assisting witnesses, who are the undersigned. In this place opposite El Socorro, on the 26th day of the month of August, 1680. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Auto [of Antonio de Otermin. September 6 (?), 1680].

His lordship has seen the *autos* presented and the judicial proceedings drawn up by the said lieutenant, and the rest that he submits for his justification, and the fact that all agreed in not stopping, for the reasons expressed, namely, because of the great fear that they felt, from general reports, that I and the people of the villa were dead; and because he was unable to

obtain definite information from the reports that were current; and because he found himself without munitions or provisions, and for the other reasons that he gives, all of which exonerate the said lieutenant, Alonso García, from the blame that might attach to him. For the convocation and uprising was general among the Indian rebels, and nothing was known concerning it until the time of its execution, as is seen from the serious damage they did and the atrocities they committed, it being impossible to prevent them. The said lieutenant's retreat not having been malicious or from fear, but forced by necessity, therefore, in view of his loyalty and services, and incorporating the *autos* which have been inserted with these, I declare that I clear and acquit him of all charges or blame, and order that he be released from the arrest under which he is held at present, so that he may attend more diligently to the affairs of justice and war of which he is in charge. The present secretary is to notify him of this *auto* in person, with witnesses. I so provide, order, and sign, before my said secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

[*Notification by Francisco Xavier, September 6 (?), 1680.*]

I, Francisco Xavier, secretary of government and war, by order of the señor governor and captain-general, Don Antonio de Otermín, read, made known, and gave a copy of the foregoing *auto* personally to Maestre de Campo Alonso García, lieutenant of the governor and captain-general in the jurisdictions of Río Abajo, there being present as witnesses the alcalde ordinario, Juan Lucero de Godoy, and the sargento mayor, Luis de Quintana. The said lieutenant general having heard and understood it, he said that he obeys absolutely, and that he esteems and thanks his lordship for the favor and justice he has done him, for he has not committed any excess which casts blame upon his actions, as he has always been and is now a loyal and obedient vassal of his Majesty, obeying and executing the orders of his superiors. This is all his reply, and he signed it before me and the witnesses, to which I certify. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric); ALONSO

GARCÍA (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric).

Auto. [Place beyond El Alamillo, September 6, 1680.]

Then immediately, on the said day, month, and year, his lordship being on the march with the army at a place one league beyond the pueblo of El Alamillo, there was perceived in the distance a cloud of dust in which it was seen that a group of as many as thirty persons were coming on horseback. On going to see who they might be, it was found that it was Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva, commander and leader of thirty men whom his lordship had sent to escort and convoy the property consisting of the alms which his Majesty gives to the religious ministers of these provinces, which are conveyed in wagons, and which were coming in charge of the reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office, father of this holy custodia, visitador general of it, and procurador general of the religious and the citizens of this kingdom. The said maestre de campo, Pedro de Leiva, met the army, bringing with him more than forty soldiers and four religious of the Order of Saint Francis, and he having greeted his lordship, every one saluted joyfully, firing their harquebuses in rejoicing at seeing his lordship and the army, because it had been reported generally that his lordship and all the rest were dead, as a result of the news in the two letters. One, from Lieutenant General Alonso García, was written to the said maestre de campo, Pedro de Leiva, and the other, from the father preacher, Fray Diego de Mendoza, was written to the said reverend father [Ayeta]. Both gave the news and report that the señor governor and captain-general, the cabildo of the villa, and its inhabitants, together with all the people of the other jurisdictions, were dead. Whereupon he [Leiva] came to ascertain the facts, or to see whether his lordship might be besieged and in danger, and whether he might be relieved and aided. In order that his lordship and the rest might escape from such a siege, and be assisted, they determined, as loyal vassals of his Majesty, to pass to this kingdom from El Paso del Río del Norte, with the intention of going as far as the villa in search of his lordship or of

dying in the attempt, so that, having certain information of what had happened, notice might be given to the king, our lord, through his viceroy and real acuerdo, both on the part of the very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, and on the part of the said *maestre de campo* and the other persons of these provinces. This action pleased and gratified his lordship, who heartily thanked the said persons; and so that it might be recorded, he ordered it put into an *auto* and signed it with the said *maestre de campo* and some of the persons who came with him as reinforcements, before me, the said secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); PEDRO DE LEIVA (rubric); GREGORIO DE VALDÉS (rubric); ALONSO DEL RÍO (rubric); ALONSO RAMÍREZ (rubric); GONZALO DE PAREDES (rubric); LORENZO DE MADRID (rubric); ANTONIO LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

*Letter of the governor of Parral [to the viceroy], in which he advises him that he has notified his lieutenants to aid each other in the event of any uprising as a result of that which has taken place in New Mexico, and to go to the assistance of the people of the said kingdom. [Parral, September 7, 1680.]*¹

Most Excellent Sir: Among other dispatches which I received from his Majesty in the advice-boat which arrived in July of this year at Vera Cruz there was one in which he was pleased to order that the presidios of Sinaloa, Cerro Gordo, and San Sebastián, which are in the territory of this government and captaincy general, be under the orders of its governors in all cases and matters relative to warfare. In view of this, and in order to gain time and to be able to make an expedition in search of the enemy, who remains active, I have to-day dispatched a courier to the captains of the presidios of Sinaloa and San Sebastián, ordering the captain of Sinaloa to send twenty men, and the captain of San Sebastián five. I accordingly report it to your excellency, complying with the same order of his

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 111, Library of the University of Texas.

Majesty, which my agent will present to your excellency, so that in virtue of it you may order such dispatches as you may consider convenient to be issued to the said captains. Thereupon the peace and tranquillity which I desire will be attained, all of them endeavoring to assist in that which may be most conducive to his Majesty's service, to which it is necessary that all of us apply ourselves in view of the events that are taking place. For, as I am writing this to your excellency, I have just received the two inclosed letters, which leave me profoundly grieved and persuade me that the province of New Mexico will be wholly lost, in view of these notices and of the fact that as prompt a remedy as is needed can not be obtained. Nevertheless, I have already dispatched an order to the *alcalde mayor* of Sonora, which is nearest that province and has the largest population, to set out immediately with as large a force as he can to relieve such great want and hardship. I am writing the same thing to Andrés López de Gracia, *alcalde mayor* of Casas Grandes, who also is near by.

This affair, most excellent Sir, is full of evil consequences for all the nations, who are numerous and all in communication with one another. I do not doubt that all the few [Spaniards] who have remained, as well as the religious, will leave in order to safeguard their lives until there is some form of relief for them and punishment for the rebels. All these contingencies oblige me to endeavor to punish these barbarians, and not to lose the opportunity of this year, because they inhabit places where it is impossible to seek them except during the present months, up to the beginning of December. God grant that my earnest desire may be realized.

In the last report that I made to your excellency, I described the backwardness of the kingdom and the arrears in the royal revenues due his Majesty; and I now represent anew to your excellency, with the notice of this occurrence in New Mexico, that everything that may inflict punishment on the hostile Indians of this kingdom will have good consequences for the recovery of that province, and those barbarians will be intimidated by the punishment of these.

May the dispensations of God be for the best, and fulfill the

hopes which I have from the great zeal of your excellency, whom God keep many years in the grandeur that accords with your merits and my desires. Parral, September 7, 1680. Most excellent Sir, your humblest servant kisses your excellency's feet. DON BARTOLOMÉ DE ESTRADA.

Decree. [Mexico, October 12, 1680.]

Mexico, October 12, 1680. Tentatively examined pending the presentation of the order of his Majesty which is referred to in this letter, which up to now has not been presented. Signed with the rubric of the most excellent señor archbishop viceroy.

[Auto of Antonio de Otermin. Place opposite El Socorro, September 7, 1680.]

In this royal army, at the place opposite El Socorro, on the seventh day of the month of September, 1680. His lordship, the señor governor and captain-general, has seen the impossibility of continuing the march which he is making with so many people, including women and children, who are going on foot and are suffering intolerable hardships from hunger and weariness. Thus, with a view to the better management and the relief of the above said, and so that they may be conducted to a place affording greater safety and comfort to all of them, and may be removed from the danger of so many days of campaigning in sight of the numerous rebel enemy, notwithstanding the need for the men under the command of Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva who came to the rescue of our person, I direct by this *auto* that the person mentioned leave this camp without any delay with the enlisted men who follow him by my order, and return to El Paso del Río del Norte. Inasmuch as it is a distance of seventy-six leagues from here to there over a desert country full of enemies, in which there are to be found no provisions or anything for the sustenance of so many people, they [Leiva and his men] shall return as escort for the wagons and other things that are to be sent by way of assistance, in charge of the reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office, father of this holy custodia, visitador general of it, and procurador general of the two jurisdictions,

ecclesiastical and secular. Leiva is to act as convoy for the above, and he shall leave immediately, to-day, as is ordered. So that it may be recorded, he [Otermín] ordered it set down as a judicial proceeding and signed it before me, to which I certify. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto [of Antonio de Otermín. Place opposite El Socorro, September 7, 1680].

In the said place on the said day, month, and year, his lordship being in this plaza de armas applying himself to the better and more effective management of the affairs that pertain to his Majesty's royal service and the welfare of his vassals, and to the step that he intends to take in incorporating with this army the soldiers who are in the place of Fray Cristóbal, who have been marching out with Lieutenant General Alonso García, his lordship having arrived by forced marches at this place, which is sixteen leagues from that which they call Fray Cristóbal, where the said people are, he has made all necessary arrangements for it. He has undergone great hardships, for we have been reduced to eating maize roasted on the ear, to the end that it may be possible to arrange what is needed for the royal service, with a view to the best dispositions for restoring to his Majesty this kingdom and portion of his crown. While he was engaged in these matters, with the military officers and soldiers of practical experience, there came into his lordship's hands a written paper signed with a signature that reads Fray Diego de Parraga. He notes from its contents that the other camp is suffering greatly for want of necessities, and that it intends to leave that territory, marching still farther away from the settled portion of the kingdom. No notice to this effect has been received from Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza, the person whom Lieutenant General Alonso García left in his place. In case such an action should be taken, in addition to all the rest that has happened, I order that the original letter be placed with these *autos* and that the present secretary insert an exact authorized copy of the reply given by me at the end of this *auto* and certify it in the usual form and manner. His lordship

so provided and signed before me, the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Letter [of Antonio de Otermín to Fray Diego de Parraga. Place opposite El Socorro, September 8, 1680].

Copy of the letter of reply of his lordship, which is of the following tenor:

The Reverend Father Preacher Fray Diego de Parraga: Today, the day of the nativity of Our Lady, I received the letter which your reverence wrote me from that place of Fray Cristóbal (which it seems to me is the only one I have had from your reverence during the whole time of my government) in which you inform me that that camp consists of fifteen hundred souls, and that because they have used up the provisions which they have brought out, and because remaining there longer would invite a great disaster, I should either supply them, or order that they continue their march to the vicinity of El Paso, from which they can receive aid. In reply to it I state, first, that Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza, who is in command of that camp in the absence of Lieutenant General Alonso García, who came to meet me at this camp, has not written me or sent any word to me about this matter or any other; and second, admitting that the above is true (which I believe to be the case), it is nonsensical to seek in a desert place such as this, so many leagues from the villa, enough provisions to maintain more than fifteen hundred persons, from a man who is coming with a thousand mouths to feed after having experienced such manifest dangers as a siege by the enemy, and a great many encounters and skirmishes with them, and who, finally, must come out by opening the way by force of arms and bringing all the people under his command on foot, without shoes, and without any provisions, there having been neither opportunity nor means for carrying them. We trusted from the beginning in divine providence, and His divine Majesty has not failed us, setting us a free table from the fields of maize, pumpkins, and other crops, but I passed by all this in order to approach the place where I judged your reverence and the others would

be, in straits similar to those in which I found myself, and to aid them, seeing that they could receive help from no other source except from my own desperate necessity and exigency. For, having forced the enemy to retire with such great loss to them, I might well have remained where I was, at least for the time required to be able to collect a few stores for my journey to La Isleta, which, as I stated above, was the place where I was always sure that all these people would be, until they learned for certain whether the governor and all the people of the villa were dead. Finally, I have come from the pueblo of La Isleta to this place (straining every nerve, as they say) to overtake the people of this camp, so that, all being united in one body, I may proceed to examine and discuss the best measures that can be taken to save our lives, and that will be most to the service of God and the king. Now that I am so near to accomplishing the purpose that has brought me, of uniting the two forces, your reverence comes and asks that I give orders so that they may go marching back to El Paso. My father, if your reverence wishes to go alone, do what seems best to you, but it is not conducive to the service of God or of his Majesty for that camp to do so; and if they are to-day in danger of suffering disaster because their provisions are running out, I say that we are now suffering this disaster here, for we have no provisions except a little mutton and beef, and that camp still is better and more plentifully provided with those things. Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva is returning to El Paso to-day with all the men and the religious whom he brought, with urgent requests to the reverend father visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, to relieve our extreme necessity immediately. I do not doubt that his reverence will do so, and having received this aid, we will attempt to do what is most conducive to the service of both Majesties. Meanwhile, I shall proceed slowly on my march to join that camp so that, we being thus together, we shall be safer from any attack of the Apache Indians, since we are in the midst of their country. God keep your reverence many years. From this place opposite El Socorro, September 8, 1680. Your servant, DON ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN, kisses your reverence's hands.

This agrees with the original letter which the señor gover-

nor and captain-general sent Father Fray Diego de Parraga. This copy is accurate and true, to which I certify. The alcalde ordinario, Juan Lucero de Godoy, and the sargento mayor, Luis de Quintana, were witnesses to its copying, and they signed it with me. Done in this place opposite the pueblo of El Socorro, on September 9, 1680. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric).

[*Letter of Fray Francisco de Ayeta to Antonio de Otermín. El Paso, September 8, 1680.*]

Señor Governor Don Antonio de Otermín. My master and dear Sir: The anxiety of mind and grief that I have felt have been so great that I do not know how I have remained alive and retained my reason, except that God, our Lord, has desired that I do both, so that I might taste the bitterness of the first news of the sad misfortune and desolation of that kingdom, and might later taste the sweetness of the second notices sent me in a letter of Maestre de Campo Alonso García, to the effect that your lordship is alive—news very delightful to me at a time when I and my brothers had been mourning for you. I attribute it to a miracle of the Queen of the Angels, for, on our completing the novena, on the last day after mass she was pleased to console us with the happy news that we desired, relieving us all from the utter confusion in which we found ourselves, our whole lives having been a continuous mourning. Let your lordship consider how we felt, believing everything and every one ended and destroyed. Although as Christians and religious we knew it to be the will of God, we could not help grieving, being after all only human. Nevertheless, I always had firm hopes that my great father and patron, Saint Anthony, would protect and favor your lordship, you being in danger of death, although so far away, and that he would protect so many poor people. I do not cease nor do we cease to give thanks to the infinite goodness and mercy of our great God and Lord for having saved them from the infernal fury of paganism, attributing it to a miracle and not to human forces, and we should all consider it as such. Since your lordship enjoys all the gifts of prudence,

you may consider that two glories are incompatible, and we have an example of it in Saint Job, for God having made him rich in temporal goods, He took them away and placed him in misery, trying him through tribulation and anguish, for, since He had assured him of eternal glory, He did not permit him temporal happiness except in order to weary him with digressions when He knew him to be in accord with the will of the Most High. Thus, leaving this, we go on to speak of temporal affairs, God being served in everything. I state, Sir, that I find myself confused by not having information of your lordship's decision, in order to know what I ought to do. To resolve this doubt I am sending the bearers with all speed, to avoid any further delay in receiving your lordship's advices. For I have made all arrangements and the wagons are ready to leave, and if your lordship should decide to remain, fortifying yourself in some post, I beg that your lordship will come with a guard to insure your safety so that we may consult on some matters pertaining to the service of both Majesties, and likewise in order that we may have the pleasure of seeing one another sooner. Because (if it should be fitting) I have decided to go in person to give a report of what has occurred both to the señor viceroy and the royal audiencia, and to my prelates, for not everything may be told in writing, nor is it possible to do so. Although when we first received the news I dispatched an entirely trustworthy religious named Fray Nicolás López [to Mexico], I could tell nothing more than the first news that we had. I believe that all the gentlemen and the prelates are in the same confusion in which we have been here, at the entrance [of New Mexico]; and because I trust in God that we shall see one another soon, I do not write more. I say only that all the religious who are in this convent commend themselves to your lordship, and very particularly the father definidor, who begs your lordship to pardon him for not writing to you, as you know that he is entirely at your service. God protect your lordship unto heaven. El Paso, September 8, 1680.

I find myself in very poor health, to such a point that I know neither what I am saying nor what I am doing. I only give infinite thanks to God for the hope of seeing alive him whom I had no doubt was dead. I have sent to his excellency and to

Mexico the news of the burning of the villa, of your lordship's being wounded, and of your coming out alive, and I am sending also certified copies of the letters of the lieutenant general and of Father Sierra, and stating that I suspend further report on the matter and the adoption of further measures until we see one another. Your lordship may believe that you are among the chosen, and that during your life you have gained more than you have lost. Your lordship's friend until death, who will see you. FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA (rubric).

[In the margin:] Put it with the *autos*.

*Letter of the governor and captain-general, Don Antonio de Otermín, from New Mexico [to Fray Francisco de Ayeta], in which he gives him a full account of what has happened to him since the day the Indians surrounded him. [September 8, 1680.]*¹

My very reverend father, Sir, and friend, most beloved Fray Francisco de Ayeta: The time has come when, with tears in my eyes and deep sorrow in my heart, I commence to give an account of the lamentable tragedy, such as has never before happened in the world, which has occurred in this miserable kingdom and holy custodia, His divine Majesty having thus permitted it because of my grievous sins. Before beginning my narration, I desire, as one obligated and grateful, to give your reverence the thanks due for the demonstrations of affection and kindness which you have given in your solicitude in ascertaining and inquiring for definite notices about both my life and those of the rest in this miserable kingdom, in the midst of persistent reports which had been circulated of the deaths of myself and the others, and for sparing neither any kind of effort nor large expenditures. For this, only Heaven can reward your reverence, though I do not doubt that his Majesty (may God keep him) will do so.

After I sent my last letter to your reverence by the *maese de*

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. IV, p. 81, Library of the University of Texas. This letter is published in translation in C. W. Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, vol. III, pp. 327-335, which translation is here reproduced.

campo, Pedro de Leiva, while the necessary things were being made ready alike for the escort and in the way of provisions, for the most expeditious dispatch of the returning wagons and their guards, as your reverence had enjoined me, I received information that a plot for a general uprising of the Christian Indians was being formed and was spreading rapidly. This was wholly contrary to the existing peace and tranquillity in this miserable kingdom, not only among the Spaniards and natives, but even on the part of the heathen enemy, for it had been a long time since they had done us any considerable damage. It was my misfortune that I learned of it on the eve of the day set for the beginning of the said uprising, and though I immediately, at that instant, notified the lieutenant general on the lower river and all the other *alcaldes mayores*—so that they could take every care and precaution against whatever might occur, and so that they could make every effort to guard and protect the religious ministers and the temples—the cunning and cleverness of the rebels were such, and so great, that my efforts were of little avail. To this was added a certain degree of negligence by reason of the report of the uprising not having been given entire credence, as is apparent from the ease with which they captured and killed both those who were escorting some of the religious, as well as some citizens in their houses, and, particularly, in the efforts that they made to prevent my orders to the lieutenant general passing through. This was the place where most of the forces of the kingdom were, and from which I could expect some help, but of three orders which I sent to the said lieutenant general, not one reached his hands. The first messenger was killed and the others did not pass beyond Santo Domingo, because of their having encountered on the road the certain notice of the deaths of the religious who were in that convent, and of the *alcalde mayor*, some other guards, and six more Spaniards whom they captured on that road. Added to this is the situation of this kingdom which, as your reverence is aware, makes it so easy for the said [Indian] rebels to carry out their evil designs, for it is entirely composed of *estancias*, quite distant from one another.

On the eve of the day of the glorious San Lorenzo, having

received notice of the said rebellion from the governors of Pecos and Tanos, who said that two Indians had left the Teguas, and particularly the pueblos of Tesuque, to which they belonged, to notify them to come and join the revolt, and that they [the governors] came to tell me of it and of how they were unwilling to participate in such wickedness and treason, saying that they now regarded the Spaniards as their brothers, I thanked them for their kindness in giving the notice and told them to go to their pueblos and remain quiet. I busied myself immediately in giving the said orders, which I mentioned to your reverence, and on the following morning as I was about to go to mass there arrived Pedro Hidalgo, who had gone to the pueblo of Tesuque, accompanying Father Fray Juan Pío, who went there to say mass. He told me that the Indians of the said pueblo had killed the said Father Fray Pío and that he himself had escaped miraculously. He told me also that the said Indians had retreated to the sierra with all the cattle and horses belonging to the convent, and with their own.

The receipt of this news left us all in the state that may be imagined. I immediately and instantly sent the *maese de campo*, Francisco Gómez, with a squadron of soldiers sufficient to investigate this case and also to attempt to extinguish the flame of the ruin already begun. He returned here on the same day, telling me that the report of the death of the said Fray Juan Pío was true. He said also that there had been killed that same morning Father Fray Tomás de Torres, *guardián* of Nambé, and his brother, with the latter's wife and a child, and another resident of Taos, and also Father Fray Luis de Morales, *guardián* of San Ildefonso, and the family of Francisco de Anaya; and in Poxuaque Don Joseph de Goitia, Francisco Ximénez, his wife and family, and Doña Petronila de Salas with ten sons and daughters; and that they had robbed and profaned the convents and had robbed all the haciendas of those murdered and also all the horses and cattle of that jurisdiction and La Cañada.

Upon receiving this news I immediately notified the *alcalde mayor* of that district to assemble all the people in his house in a body, and told him to advise at once the *alcalde mayor* of Los

Taos to do the same. On this same day I received notice that two members of a convoy had been killed in the pueblo of Santa Clara, six others having escaped by flight. Also at the same time the *sargento mayor*, Bernabé Márquez, sent to ask me for assistance, saying that he was surrounded and hard pressed by the Indians of the Queres and Tanos nations. Having sent the aid for which he asked me, and an order for those families of Los Cerrillos to come to the villa, I instantly arranged for all the people in it and its environs to retire to the *casas reales*. Believing that the uprising of the Tanos and Pecos might endanger the person of the reverend father custodian, I wrote to him to set out at once for the villa, not feeling reassured even with the escort which the lieutenant took, at my orders, but when they arrived with the letter they found that the Indians had already killed the said father custodian; Father Fray Domingo de Vera; Father Fray Manuel Tinoco, the minister *guardián* of San Marcos, who was there; and Father Fray Fernando de Velasco, *guardián* of Los Pecos, near the pueblo of Galisteo, he having escaped that far from the fury of the Pecos. The latter killed in that pueblo Fray Juan de la Pedrosa, two Spanish women, and three children. There died also at the hands of the said enemies in Galisteo Joseph Nieto, two sons of *Maestre de Campo* Leiva, Francisco de Anaya, the younger, who was with the escort, and the wives of *Maestre de Campo* Leiva and Joseph Nieto, with all their daughters and families. I also learned definitely on this day that there had died, in the pueblo of Santo Domingo, Fathers Fray Juan de Talabán, Fray Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, and Fray Joseph de Montesdoca, and the *alcalde mayor*, Andrés de Peralta, together with the rest of the men who went as escort.

Seeing myself with notices of so many and such untimely deaths, and that not having received any word from the lieutenant general was probably due to the fact that he was in the same exigency and confusion, or that the Indians had killed most of those on the lower river, and considering also that in the pueblo of Los Taos the father guardians of that place and of the pueblo of *Pecuríes* might be in danger, as well as the *alcalde mayor* and the residents of that valley, and that at all events it was the only

place from which I could obtain any horses and cattle—for all these reasons I endeavored to send a relief of soldiers. Marching out for that purpose, they learned that in La Cañada, as in Los Taos and Pecurías, the Indians had risen in rebellion, joining the Apaches of the Achos nation. In Pecurías they had killed Francisco Blanco de la Vega; a *mulata* belonging to the *maese de campo*, Francisco Xavier; and a son of the said *mulata*. Shortly thereafter I learned that they also killed in the pueblo of Taos the father guardián, Fray Francisco de Mora; and Father Fray Mathías Rendón, the guardián of Pecurías; and Fray Antonio de Pro; and the *alcalde mayor*, as well as another fourteen or fifteen soldiers, along with all the families of the inhabitants of that valley, all of whom were together in the convent. Thereupon I sent an order to the *alcalde mayor*, Luis de Quintana, to come at once to the villa with all the people whom he had assembled in his house, so that, joined with those of us who were in the *casas reales*, we might endeavor to defend ourselves against the enemy's invasions. It was necessarily supposed that they would join all their forces to take our lives, as was seen later by experience.

On Tuesday, the 13th of the said month, at about nine o'clock in the morning, there came in sight of us in the suburb of Analco, in the cultivated field of the hermitage of San Miguel, and on the other side of the river from the villa, all the Indians of the Tanos and Pecos nations and the Queres of San Marcos, armed and giving war whoops. As I learned that one of the Indians who was leading them was from the villa and had gone to join them shortly before, I sent some soldiers to summon him and tell him on my behalf that he could come to see me in entire safety, so that I might ascertain from him the purpose for which they were coming. Upon receiving this message he came to where I was, and, since he was known, as I say, I asked him how it was that he had gone crazy too—being an Indian who spoke our language, was so intelligent, and had lived all his life in the villa among the Spaniards, where I had placed such confidence in him—and was now coming as a leader of the Indian rebels. He replied to me that they had elected him as their captain, and that they were carrying two banners, one white and

the other red, and that the white one signified peace and the red one war. Thus if we wished to choose the white it must be upon our agreeing to leave the country, and if we chose the red, we must perish, because the rebels were numerous and we were very few; there was no alternative, inasmuch as they had killed so many religious and Spaniards.

On hearing this reply, I spoke to him very persuasively, to the effect that he and the rest of his followers were Catholic Christians, asking how they expected to live without the religious; and said that even though they had committed so many atrocities, still there was a remedy, for if they would return to obedience to his Majesty they would be pardoned; and that thus he should go back to his people and tell them in my name all that had been said to him, and persuade them to agree to it and to withdraw from where they were; and that he was to advise me of what they might reply. He came back from there after a short time, saying that his people asked that all classes of Indians who were in our power be given up to them, both those in the service of the Spaniards and those of the Mexican nation of that suburb of Analco. He demanded also that his wife and children be given up to him, and likewise that all the Apache men and women whom the Spaniards had captured in war be turned over to them, inasmuch as some Apaches who were among them were asking for them. If these things were not done they would declare war immediately, and they were unwilling to leave the place where they were because they were awaiting the Taos, Pecurías, and Teguas nations, with whose aid they would destroy us.

Seeing his determination, and what they demanded of us, and especially the fact that it was untrue that there were any Apaches among them, because they were at war with all of them, and that these parleys were intended solely to obtain his wife and children and to gain time for the arrival of the other rebellious nations to join them and besiege us, and that during this time they were robbing and sacking what was in the said hermitage and the houses of the Mexicans, I told him (having given him all the preceding admonitions as a Christian and a Catholic) to return to his people and say to them that unless they

immediately desisted from sacking the houses and dispersed, I would send to drive them away from there. Whereupon he went back, and his people received him with peals of bells and trumpets, giving loud shouts in sign of war.

With this, seeing after a short time that they not only did not cease the pillage but were advancing toward the villa with shamelessness and mockery, I ordered all the soldiers to go out and attack them until they succeeded in dislodging them from that place. Advancing for this purpose, they joined battle, killing some at the first encounter. Finding themselves repulsed, they took shelter and fortified themselves in the said hermitage and the houses of the Mexicans, from which they defended themselves a part of the day with the firearms that they had and with arrows. We having set fire to some of the houses in which they were, thus having them surrounded and at the point of perishing, there appeared on the road from Tesuque a band of the people whom they were awaiting, who were all the Teguas. Thus it was necessary to go to prevent these latter from passing on to the villa, because the *casas reales* were poorly defended; whereupon the said Tanos and Pecos fled to the mountains and the two parties joined together, sleeping that night in the sierra of the villa. Many of the rebels remained dead and wounded, and our men retired to the *casas reales* with one soldier killed and the *maese de campo*, Francisco Gómez, and some fourteen or fifteen soldiers wounded, to attend them and intrench and fortify ourselves as best we could.

On the morning of the following day, Wednesday, I saw the enemy come down all together from the sierra where they had slept, toward the villa. Mounting my horse, I went out with the few forces that I had to meet them, above the convent. The enemy saw me and halted, making ready to resist the attack. They took up a better position, gaining the eminence of some ravines and thick timber, and began to give war whoops, as if daring me to attack them.

I paused thus for a short time, in battle formation, and the enemy turned aside from the eminence and went nearer the sierras, to gain the one which comes down behind the house of the *maese de campo*, Francisco Gómez. There they took up

their position, and this day passed without our having any further engagements or skirmishes than had already occurred, we taking care that they should not throw themselves upon us and burn the church and the houses of the villa.

The next day, Thursday, the enemy obliged us to take the same step as on the day before of mounting on horseback in fighting formation. There were only some light skirmishes to prevent their burning and sacking some of the houses which were at a distance from the main part of the villa. I knew well enough that these dilatory tactics were to give time for the people of the other nations who were missing to join them in order to besiege and attempt to destroy us, but the height of the places in which they were, so favorable to them and on the contrary so unfavorable to us, made it impossible for us to go and drive them out before they should all be joined together.

On the next day, Friday, the nations of the Taos, Pecuríes, Jemez, and Queres having assembled during the past night, when dawn came more than 2,500 Indians fell upon us in the villa, fortifying and intrenching themselves in all its houses and at the entrances of all the streets, and cutting off our water, which comes through the arroyo and the irrigation canal in front of the *casas reales*. They burned the holy temple and many houses in the villa. We had several skirmishes over possession of the water, but, seeing that it was impossible to hold even this against them, and almost all the soldiers of the post being already wounded, I endeavored to fortify myself in the *casas reales* and to make a defense without leaving their walls. The Indians were so dexterous and so bold that they came to set fire to the doors of the fortified tower of *Nuestra Señora de las Casas Reales*, and, seeing such audacity and the manifest risk that we ran of having the *casas reales* set on fire, I resolved to make a sally into the plaza of the said *casas reales* with all my available force of soldiers, without any protection, to attempt to prevent the fire which the enemy was trying to set. With this endeavor we fought the whole afternoon, and, since the enemy, as I said above, had fortified themselves and made embrasures in all the houses, and had plenty of *harquebuses*, powder, and balls, they did us much damage. Night overtook us and God

was pleased that they should desist somewhat from shooting us with harquebuses and arrows. We passed this night, like the rest, with much care and watchfulness, and suffered greatly from thirst because of the scarcity of water.

On the next day, Saturday, they began at dawn to press us harder and more closely with gunshots, arrows, and stones, saying to us that now we should not escape them, and that, besides their own numbers, they were expecting help from the Apaches whom they had already summoned. They fatigued us greatly on this day, because all was fighting, and above all we suffered from thirst, as we were already oppressed by it. At nightfall, because of the evident peril in which we found ourselves by their gaining the two stations where the cannon were mounted, which we had at the doors of the *casas reales*, aimed at the entrances of the streets, in order to bring them inside it was necessary to assemble all the forces that I had with me, because we realized that this was their [the Indians'] intention. Instantly all the said Indian rebels began a chant of victory and raised war whoops, burning all the houses of the villa, and they kept us in this position the entire night, which I assure your reverence was the most horrible that could be thought of or imagined, because the whole villa was a torch and everywhere were war chants and shouts. What grieved us most were the dreadful flames from the church and the scoffing and ridicule which the wretched and miserable Indian rebels made of the sacred things, intoning the alabado and the other prayers of the church with jeers.

Finding myself in this state, with the church and the villa burned, and with the few horses, sheep, goats, and cattle which we had without feed or water for so long that many had already died, and the rest were about to do so, and with such a multitude of people, most of them children and women, so that our numbers in all came to about a thousand persons, perishing with thirst—for we had nothing to drink during these two days except what had been kept in some jars and pitchers that were in the *casas reales*—surrounded by such a wailing of women and children, with confusion everywhere, I determined to take the resolution of going out in the morning to fight with the enemy

until dying or conquering. Considering that the best strength and armor were prayers to appease the divine wrath, though on the preceding days the poor women had made them with such fervor, that night I charged them to do so increasingly, and told the father guardián and the other two religious to say mass for us at dawn, and exhort all alike to repentance for their sins and to conformance with the divine will, and to absolve us from guilt and punishment. These things being done, all of us who could mounted our horses, and the rest went on foot with their harquebuses, and some Indians who were in our service with their bows and arrows, and in the best order possible we directed our course toward the house of the *maese de campo*, Francisco Xavier, which was the place where (apparently) there were the most people and where they had been most active and boldest. On coming out of the entrance to the street it was seen that there was a great number of Indians. They were attacked in force, and though they resisted the first charge bravely, finally they were put to flight, many of them being overtaken and killed. Then turning at once upon those who were in the streets leading to the convent, they also were put to flight with little resistance. The houses in the direction of the house of the said *maese de campo*, Francisco Xavier, being still full of Indians who had taken refuge in them, and seeing that the enemy with the punishment and deaths that we had inflicted upon them in the first and second assaults were withdrawing toward the hills, giving us a little room, we laid siege to those who remained fortified in the said houses. Though they endeavored to defend themselves, and did so, seeing that they were being set afire and that they would be burned to death, those who remained alive surrendered and much was made of them. The deaths of both parties in this and the other encounters exceeded three hundred Indians.

Finding myself a little relieved by this miraculous event, although I had lost much blood from two arrow wounds which I had received in the face and from a remarkable gunshot wound in the chest on the day before, I immediately had water given to the cattle, the horses, and the people. Because we now found ourselves with very few provisions for so many people,

and without hope of human aid, considering that our not having heard in so many days from the people on the lower river would be because of their all having been killed, like the others in the kingdom, or at least of their being or having been in dire straits, with the view of aiding them and joining with them into one body, so as to make the decisions most conducive to his Majesty's service, on the morning of the next day, Monday, I set out for La Isleta, where I judged the said comrades on the lower river would be. I trusted in divine providence, for I left without a crust of bread or a grain of wheat or maize, and with no other provision for the convoy of so many people except four hundred animals and two carts belonging to private persons, and, for food, a few sheep, goats, and cows.

In this manner, and with this fine provision, besides a few small ears of maize that we found in the fields, we went as far as the pueblo of La Alameda, where we learned from an old Indian whom we found in a maizefield that the lieutenant general with all the residents of his jurisdictions had left some fourteen or fifteen days before to return to El Paso to meet the wagons. This news made me very uneasy, alike because I could not be persuaded that he would have left without having news of me as well as of all the others in the kingdom, and because I feared that from his absence there would necessarily follow the abandonment of this kingdom. On hearing this news I acted at once, sending four soldiers to overtake the said lieutenant general and the others who were following him, with orders that they were to halt wherever they should come up with them. Going in pursuit of them, they overtook them at the place of Fray Cristóbal. The lieutenant general, Alonso García, overtook me at the place of Las Nutrias, and a few days' march thereafter I encountered the *maese de campo*, Pedro de Leiva, with all the people under his command, who were escorting these wagons and who came to ascertain whether or not we were dead, as your reverence had charged him to do, and to find me, ahead of the supply train. I was so short of provisions and of everything else that at best I should have had a little maize for six days or so.

Thus, after God, the only succor and relief that we have

rests with your reverence and in your diligence. Wherefore, and in order that your reverence may come immediately, because of the great importance to God and the king of your reverence's presence here, I am sending the said *maese de campo*, Pedro de Leiva, with the rest of the men whom he brought so that he may come as escort for your reverence and the wagons or mule-train in which we hope you will bring us some assistance of provisions. Because of the haste which the case demands I do not write at more length, and for the same reason I can not make a report at present concerning the above to the señor viceroy, because the *autos* are not verified and there has been no opportunity to conclude them. I shall leave it until your reverence's arrival here. For the rest I refer to the account which will be given to your reverence by the father secretary, Fray Buenaventura de Verganza. I am slowly overtaking the other party, which is sixteen leagues from here, with the view of joining them and discussing whether or not this miserable kingdom can be recovered. For this purpose I shall not spare any means in the service of God and of his Majesty, losing a thousand lives if I had them, as I have lost my estate and part of my health, and shedding my blood for God. May He protect me and permit me to see your reverence in this place at the head of the relief. September 8, 1680. Your servant, countryman, and friend kisses your reverence's hand.
DON ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN.

It agrees with the original letter which is in the archives, from which this copy was made at the order of our very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, commissary visitador of this holy custodia. It is copied accurately and legally, witnesses being the father preachers, Fray Juan Muñoz de Castro, Fray Pedro Gómez de San Antonio, and Fray Felipe Daza, in proof of which I give this certification in this convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Río del Norte, September 15, 1680.
FRAY JUAN ALVAREZ, secretary.

Letter of the very reverend father custodian, Fray Francisco de Ayeta [to the most excellent señor viceroy. El Paso, September 11, 1680].¹

Most Illustrious and most Excellent Sir. My dear Sir: Thanks to the Infinite Mercy, the misfortune is much less than was thought, for I find that most of the forces of the kingdom are alive and are very near to being united, as your excellency will understand from the inclosed certified copies of the letters which I have just received, in reply to one of mine which I sent by two couriers on the 28th of last month. I notified them that the relief was leaving on the 30th, and that those who were coming should endeavor to fortify themselves at some post and set out to meet it on the road, sending word of the place selected, as we were all confused for lack of this second notice and were beginning to fear that the Indians might have made an end on the road to those whom we believed to be there. Divine providence brought the couriers through safely, and the [other] couriers having left for this pueblo on the morning of the fourth, and being diverted entirely from the camino real by the Indians, while they were resting on the crest of a hill that evening, they saw, at sunset, that our relief was approaching. They indicated to them the place where the refugees were, which was only nine leagues away. I deduce from this fact that at noon of the fifth the relief reached the first division, which is at Fray Cristóbal and that, having assisted them, he (now the maestro de campo, and no more, since the good governor, Don Antonio de Otermín, is living) would pass immediately to the place where he wrote, called Thomé Domínguez, which is thirty leagues from Fray Cristóbal. In consideration of this, most excellent Sir, I judge that if they are not all united at the present time, they are very nearly so; and, God permitting them to join one another, much will be corrected and remedied.

The guardián of this convent, my religious, and I are passing our time in various groups for the purpose of preparing prompt succor. We are grinding maize, preparing dried beef, and making biscuits, and loading it all in the wagons, ready to

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 126, Library of the University of Texas.

do whatever the governor may order. I have no doubt that he will make all possible efforts to make a stand (though I judge it to be extremely difficult), and I further deduce this from the order which he sent to Fray Cristóbal to the effect that they halt wherever his order might overtake them. If this can be accomplished (which, as I say, is extremely difficult) with men who are not paid and who are coming out as they are, having lost their haciendas and houses, which is what could have held them there, it seems, most excellent Sir, that it will be very acceptable to God, our Lord. For the apostates, great and small, exceed sixteen thousand, and even though twenty or thirty should be killed in each pueblo in the course of punishing them, the rest must recognize their error and return to the fold, for they are not accustomed to the sierras, but to settlements and agriculture. May God dispose that which is most conducive to His holy service.

I have desired not to withhold this better news from your excellency, realizing the great sorrow which must have weighed upon your excellency's most Christian breast since the first reports arrived, and in the belief that it is better to send a special courier than to keep your excellency waiting in uneasiness until you learn of all that has happened.

The religious who gave up their lives and souls to our Creator in the exercise of their office number twenty-one, whose names, provinces, and native countries I report to your excellency in the accompanying list. And because, as I have said, I shall continue giving an account of everything to your excellency, and as there is no more to add at present, except that we are fatigued and there is much to do, I cease. I entreat your excellency, not as the señor viceroy, but as the individual, aside from the position, and as my protector, which you have been always, that you continue in your compassion toward my humility, commending me to our Lord, that He may hold me in His most holy hand.

May God keep the illustrious person of your excellency as the church and the Catholic monarchy have need. Paso del Río del Norte, September 11, 1680. Most illustrious and most

excellent Sir. My dear Sir, your excellency's humblest servant and chaplain kisses your feet. FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA.

Continuation of the said letter.

This letter being closed, there have arrived by order of the governor of El Parral four men sent by the alcalde mayor of Casas Grandes, and ten pack animals ready to be loaded. I report this to your excellency, wondering that he has been able to send them. In view of the fact that the reason no longer exists for the haste with which I importuned your excellency to order a courier sent with the appointment of governor [for Pedro de Leiva], if no reason appears to your excellency's superior foresight which demands it, it seems, most excellent Sir, that it could be suspended pending the outcome of the needful investigation of the matter. For on seeing the governor and learning of recent events, a report will be made to your excellency so that, as always, you may decide upon what is most fitting, which will be the best. May the divine Majesty preserve your excellency for our protection and my consolation. El Paso, September 11, 1680. Your excellency's humble and grateful servant and humble chaplain kisses your feet. FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA.

List and memorial of the religious whom the Indians of New Mexico have killed [1680].¹

The names, countries, and native provinces of the twenty-one religious who were killed, while administering the holy sacraments, by the apostate Indians of the provinces of New Mexico, confederated with the heathen Apaches against the governor, inhabitants, and religious, and those Indians who did not consent to the unspeakable wickedness which they committed on the tenth day [of August] of this year 1680 in most of the pueblos in the greater part of the kingdom. I remit it to your excellency by way of information until, the tempest being calmed, the circumstances, places, and manner of or signs accompanying their deaths may be ascertained.

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. ix, p. 105, Library of the University of Texas. This document is published in translation in Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico*, vol. III, pp. 335-339, which translation is here reproduced. For additional bibliographical information concerning the document, see *ibid.*, the footnotes.

GALISTEO

In this pueblo and convent of Santa Cruz de Galisteo, they killed the very reverend father, Fray Juan Bernal, custodio actual of the said provinces, and son of that of El Santo Evangelio, a native of the city of Mexico. He entered these missions in the past year of 1677.

With him [they killed] Father Fray Domingo de Vera, son of the province of El Santo Evangelio, a native of the city of Mexico. He entered as a missionary in the past year of 1674, on my first journey.

PECOS

In the convent of Porciúncula de los Pecos, the reverend father, Fray Fernando Velasco, son of the province and of that of El Santo Evangelio, a native of the city of Cádiz. He entered as a missionary thirty years ago, a little more or less.

VILLA OF SANTA FE

In one of the visitas of the villa, Father Fray Juan Baptista Pío, son of the holy province of Cantabria, incorporated into that of El Santo Evangelio, a native of the city of Victoria in the province of Alava. He entered as a missionary in the past year of 1677.

NAMBÉ

The reverend father, Fray Tomás de Torres, died in this convent of Nuestro Padre San Francisco de Nambé. He was definidor, and son of the province of El Santo Evangelio, a native of Teposotlán. He entered as a missionary in the past year of 1677.

SAN ILDEFONSO

In the convent of San Ildefonso, Father Fray Luis de Morales, son of the province and of that of El Santo Evangelio, a native of Ubeda, or Baeza. He entered as a missionary in the past year of 1674.

With him, Brother Fray Antonio Sánchez de Pío, a lay religious, son of the holy province of San Diego de Mexico, a native of the said city. He entered [with] the past expedition of 1677.

PECURÍES

In the convent of San Lorenzo de los Pecuríes, Father Fray Matías Rendón, son of the province of El Santo Evangelio, a native of the city of Los Angeles. He entered as a missionary in the past year of 1674.

TAOS

In the convent of San Gerónimo de los Taos, Father Fray Antonio de Mora, son of the holy province of Mechoacán, a native of the city of Los Angeles. He entered as a missionary in the past year of 1671.

With him, Brother Fray Juan de la Pedrosa, lay religious, son of the province of El Santo Evangelio, a native of the city of Mexico. He entered in the year 1674.

SAN MARCOS

In the convent of San Marcos, Father Fray Manuel Tinoco, son of the holy province of San Miguel de la Estremadura in that of El Santo Evangelio; his native place is not known. He entered as a missionary in the year 1674.

SANTO DOMINGO

In the convent of Nuestro Padre Santo Domingo, the reverend father, Fray Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, son of the province and of that of El Santo Evangelio, a native of Galicia of the place of the brother of Señora Doña Francisca de Sosa.

With him, the very reverend father, Fray Juan de Talabán, custodio habitual, son of the province and of that of El Santo Evangelio, a native of Seville. He entered as a missionary in the past year of 1671.

Likewise Father Fray Joseph de Montesdoca, son of the holy province of Mechoacán, a native of Querétaro. He entered as a missionary in the past year of 1674.

JEMEZ

In the convent of San Diego de los Jemez, Father Fray Juan de Jesús, son of the holy province of Granada, a native of the said city, included in that [province] of Mechoacán. He entered as a missionary in the year 1677.

ACOMA SAN ESTEVAN

In the convent of San Estevan de Acoma, the reverend father, Fray Lucas Maldonado, definidor actual, son of the province and of that of El Santo Evangelio, a native of Tribugena. He entered as a missionary in the past year of 1667.

ALONA

In the convent of La Purísima Concepción de Alona, Father Fray Juan de Bal, son of the holy province of Castile, included in that of El Santo Evangelio, a native of a place in Castile called El Bal. He entered as a missionary in the year 1671.

AGUATUBI

In the convent of San Bernardo Aguatubi, Father Fray Joseph de Figueroa, son of the holy province of El Santo Evangelio, a native of the city of Mexico. He entered as a missionary in the past year of 1674.

XONGO PAVI

In the convent of San Bartolomé de Xongo Pavi, the reverend father, Fray Joseph de Trujillo, son of the province, a native of the city of Cádiz. He entered as a missionary in the past year of 1677.

ORAYBI

In the convent of San Miguel de Oraibi, the reverend father, Fray Joseph de Espeleta, custodio habitual, son of the province and of that of El Santo Evangelio, a native of the city of Estella in the kingdom of Navarre. He entered as missionary thirty years ago, a little more or less.

With him, Father Fray Agustín de Santa María, son of the holy province of Mechoacán, a native of Páscuaro. He entered as missionary in the past year of 1674.

All the rest have escaped, except three who have died a natural death shortly after the event.

*Decree. Mexico, October 19, 1680.*¹

Having to-day received this letter and the two certified copies of documents which accompany it, I order that it be placed with the other from Governor Don Bartolomé de Estrada, received along with them. It is dated at Parral on July 22 of this year, in which date there appears to be an error. [All are to be placed] with the *autos* on this matter which are reserved for the most excellent señor, the Count of Paredes, Marquis of La Laguna, viceroy of this New Spain. Signed with the rubric of the most excellent señor archbishop viceroy.

*Decree. Mexico, December 6, 1680.*²

To the señor fiscal with the letters relating to this matter sent by the governor of La Vizcaya. Signed with the rubric of the most excellent señor, the Count of Paredes, Marquis of La Laguna.

Auto [of Antonio de Otermín. Fray Cristóbal, September 13, 1680].

In this place and plaza de armas which they call Fray Cristóbal, it being more than sixty leagues distant from the villa of Santa Fe, capital of these provinces, on the 13th day of the month of September, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of these provinces of New Mexico for his Majesty, stated: That by the general rebellion, convocation, and treason which the Christian Indian inhabitants of this kingdom have perpetrated, apostatizing from the faith and renouncing obedience to his Majesty, they conspired treasonably and killed many ecclesiastical religious, their ministers, profaning the holy temples, sacred vessels, and things pertaining to divine worship, and killed atrociously many Spaniards, women, and children, robbing the haciendas in the country and sacking the houses of their inhabitants. Their boldness and barbarous atrocity reached such a point that, having fallen upon all the jurisdictions at the same time, attempting to destroy the whole kingdom completely, the enemy, united in larger numbers,

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 130, Library of the University of Texas.

2. *Ibid.*

with excessive arrogance attacked the villa of Santa Fe, capital of these provinces, in order to kill the governor and the persons who were in the villa and its houses, up to the public plaza where the people of the villa and its environs were, together with the residents of the jurisdictions of Cañada and Cerrillos. The said Indians surrounded us with a large number of men, many being on horseback with harquebuses, lances, swords, and leather jackets which they had obtained as spoils from the men whom they had killed. They gave us to understand that there was now no one left alive, either religious, Spaniards, women, or children, in all the jurisdictions of Río Abajo, the provinces of Moqui, Zuñi, Peñol de Acoma, Taos, or Galisteo, and that it only remained for them to kill the governor, the religious, and the other persons who were with him in the said *casas reales*, for which purpose they were coming to put an end to all of them. Although the commanders and leaders were enjoined to desist and go back to their former state, professing the law of God and giving obedience to his Majesty, and were told that everything could be remedied and adjusted quietly, they refused even more shamelessly and boldly to agree to anything, on the contrary persisting in their evil intent. Proceeding to the use of arms, they began to fight, taking possession of the church of the villa and of the houses, setting fire alike to the holy temple and to the said houses, burning everything, and fighting for a period of nine days during which the siege lasted. They came to set fire to the doors of a hermitage of our Lady which is in a tower of the said *casas reales*, where, seeing that they could not overcome us, they occupied the river and the houses, cutting off our water entirely for a period of two days and a night. Whereupon, seeing that we must necessarily perish at the hands of so many enemies, it being a matter of life or death, I sallied out in person with most of the Spaniards and the servants of the inhabitants to give them battle, on two occasions, with all resolution. I dislodged them and killed a large number of the said enemies, apparently more than three hundred, who were fortified in some houses and were burned to death. In these two skirmishes I took eleven firearms from them, more than eighty beasts, some lances and leather jackets,

and the stores which they had in their camp. Then it was learned from the declarations of forty-seven Indians who surrendered that all the religious who ministered in the pueblos of the Jemez, Zia, Sandia, and Isleta, together with all the Spaniards and their families of the jurisdictions of Río Abajo, because of having received notice of the said rebellion and of the atrocities which the said rebels had committed, had assembled in a body to defend themselves from the enemy. Judging that they would be engaged in the same conflict as those who were in the said villa, and because of the obstacle offered by the many enemies who were found along the roads and in the pueblos of both districts, and because of being so short of animals and provisions, and of both parties being in manifest danger, and since we could not maintain ourselves in the villa, I determined, in accordance with the opinions of all, to march out, with a large number of Spanish women and children and servants, on foot, and with many wounded men, to see if I could succeed in joining the body of people who were said to be in the house of Maestre de Campo Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, or in La Isleta. Having marched with great danger and hardship until reaching the said places, I found that they had marched out at the orders of Maestre de Campo Alonso García, lieutenant general, for the same cause of there having been current general reports from the enemy in which they said that the governor and captain-general and all the religious and persons who were with him in the said casas reales were dead. Thus, although the march which was made from the said villa was for the reasons stated, and so that, joining ourselves together in one body, we might confer upon and determine what was best, so as to report to his Majesty, through his viceroy and real acuerdo, and provide for our safety and defense in order not to leave the kingdom depopulated, this could not be done because the two groups were separated. I sent messengers to overtake the Spaniards who were marching with Lieutenant General Alonso García, and they came up with them in this place, where they had halted, being disorganized and marching on foot like ourselves, and we proceeded until we overtook them, which was on the thirteenth of the current month. Finding ourselves together,

as we are, in order better to see and determine what is most conducive to the service of God and of his Majesty—as his loyal, deserving, and experienced vassals, who have shown so clearly with their blood and property, as have their ancestors, the conquistadores and founders, how they have upheld God and His church, and supported his Majesty in this kingdom—with the assistance of the very reverend father definidores and guardianes of the villa, and the other religious, we shall inquire into, discuss, and put into practice that which should be done in the service of God and the king, as regards the matter with which this *auto* is concerned. There shall be taken into consideration the forces which this army now has, and other matters which may be pertinent, in view of the arduous nature and the great importance of the case, and of the fact that his Majesty, with such Catholic zeal, has sustained these regions for more than eighty years, consuming a large amount of his royal revenues in order to extend the faith of God, our Lord. Thus, with opinions from all, and having considered with due deliberation what the matter proposed may require, they shall give reasons for their decision as to what is best, so that the most effective measures may be provided. This *auto* shall be proclaimed publicly in a clear and intelligible voice in this plaza de armas, where at the sound of the drum the members of the cabildo, the active and retired military officers, and all the other noble and meritorious persons shall assemble, so that, as such good servants of his Majesty, the matter being conferred upon in the light of their decisions and opinions, there may be determined what should be done. The decision made will follow at the end of this document. The secretary of government and war shall proclaim it immediately and without any delay. I so provided, ordered, and signed, before the said secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). By order of the señor governor and captain-general. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war.

[*Proclamation by Francisco Xavier. Fray Cristóbal, September 14, 1680.*]

I, Maestre de Campo Francisco Xavier, secretary of government and war of these provinces by appointment of Señor Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of these provinces for his Majesty, by order of his lordship make public the *auto* contained herein in the plaza de armas of this said place, by the voice of Sebastián de la Cruz, crier, to which I certify. I signed it with two witnesses who were the alcalde ordinario, Juan Lucero de Godoy, and the sargento mayor, Luis de Quintana. Done on September 14, 1680. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric).

[*Opinions of the reverend fathers, the maestres de campo, and all the other persons. Fray Cristóbal, September 14, 1680.*]

The reverend father preachers, definidores, and minister guardianes who are indicated by their signatures, having heard and understood the proclamation published by his lordship, said: That, as loyal vassals of his Majesty and his ministers in these parts for the administration of the holy sacraments and the teaching of the holy faith to Spaniards and natives alike, they are willing, without any reluctance, to follow the person of his lordship and the royal standard in whatever resolution or determination may be adopted on the part of his lordship and all the other persons. They gave this as their response and signed it before me, the present secretary. NICOLÁS HURTADO, definidor (rubric); FRAY TOMÁS DE TOBALINA, definidor (rubric); FRAY FRANCISCO GÓMEZ DE LA CADENA (rubric); FRAY FRANCISCO MUÑOZ, definidor subrogado (rubric); FRAY ANTONIO DE SIERRA (rubric); FRAY ANDRÉS DURÁN (rubric); FRAY JUAN DE ZAVALETA (rubric); FRAY JOSEPH DE BONILLO (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

The maestres de campo, Francisco Gómez Robledo, Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, and Diego de Trujillo, and the lieutenant general, Alonso García, having seen his lordship's proposal in his *auto* just published, said: That, as vassals of his Majesty who have served him so

faithfully at their own cost and expense since they attained years of discretion, risking their lives in defense of the holy faith and of his Majesty's royal crown, to their cost, without pay or salary from his Majesty or anything except the distinction of being vassals of his Majesty, they would give their lives in defense of the holy faith and the cause of his Majesty (whom God keep). In the light of these obligations, considering what has happened in the destruction, treason, rebellion, and uprising committed by the Christian Indians, who with diabolical plotting and conspiracy have destroyed the temples, profaned the holy vessels and things pertaining to divine worship, of which they have made trophies, and have gone so far as to set fire to the temples and images—they have robbed the haciendas of both cattle and movable property, of which they have taken possession, demolishing the remote and scattered dwellings where we lived with arms continually in our hands, because all of them were on the frontiers of the heathen enemy—we always obeyed absolutely whatever order might be sent by your lordship or your military officers and *alcaldes mayores* for the campaigns, escorts, and convoys, which have been so continuous in these parts, regardless of obstacles, of our poverty, or of the rigors of the climate. Now we see the present unparalleled case, so arduous and offering so many difficulties, without recourse or remedy, and without the secure protection of his Majesty, for the reasons stated; and we see the kingdom without churches, with our dwellings gone, and lacking food or any means of procuring it, the enemy having retired to the rough and rugged parts of the sierra, where it serves them as a fortress and us as an obstacle to the recovery of the country. And although in other opinions which were given before the lieutenant general, Alonso García, some persons said that the recovery should be attempted after the many Spanish women and children who make up our families and who marched on foot to this place had been aided and protected, the proposal was rejected, as was the rest contained in the said opinions, which were given to obtain reputation and credit as loyal vassals; and in view of the persistent rumors to the effect that your lordship and the other inhabitants with you were dead, and that the enemy had

laid waste the country from Sandia to the villa; and with a view to learning the truth in order to report it to his Majesty in a case so serious as your lordship's death and the loss of a kingdom. The divine Majesty having been pleased that your lordship and the rest should escape with your lives by a miracle, from the power of so many enemies, and should arrive at this place exhausted, robbed, and perishing of hunger like ourselves, your lordship can see with your own eyes the misfortunes of hunger and nakedness which afflict us, and hear the clamors of the many women and children who would inevitably perish either of hunger or at the hands of the enemy in this desert country, so infested by the heathen enemy who are at present frequenting the roads, heights, and trails. In view of all this, and without failing in obedience and readiness as vassals of his Majesty, we say that your lordship, moving to a better position for the safety of the families and all the rest, shall give an account to his excellency and his highness, so that his Majesty may succor us with what is necessary to enable us to return for a new conquest. This will now be more difficult, what with the cunning and audacity of so many enemies, treacherous and skilful alike on horseback and with firearms, lances, and other weapons which they have used in this uprising, with which they have inflicted the greatest damage and audacities. His Catholic Majesty, moved to pity by our hardships and miseries, will grant it [the succor], for now nothing else is possible. Our remaining here and not going to a safe place can give rise to the destruction of your lordship's person and of the rest of us, the vassals who are assembled here. They gave this for their replies and signed it before me, to which I certify. FRANCISCO GÓMEZ ROBLEDÓ (rubric); THOMÉ DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric); JUAN DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric); DIEGO DE TRUJILLO (rubric); PEDRO DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ (rubric); DIEGO DEL CASTILLO (rubric); ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric); JOSEPH TÉLLEZ JIRÓN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

All the other persons, sargentos mayores, retired captains, and soldiers, said that they agree with the opinions which the maestros de campo have given and discussed and signed in these

autos, because they are so correct and so conducive to his Majesty's service, and their statements are well and publicly known to be true; and because nothing else can be done. All those who were able signed it. SEBASTIÁN DE HERRERA (rubric); CRISTÓBAL ENRÍQUEZ (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric); DIEGO LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); DIEGO DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric); BARTOLOMÉ ROMERO DE PEDRAZA (rubric); NICOLÁS LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); JULIO SEVERINO RODRÍGUEZ DE ZABALLETA¹ (rubric); NICOLÁS LUCERO (rubric); BLAS GRIEGO (rubric); ANTONIO DE AYALA (rubric); FRANCISCO MATEO LÓPEZ DE GODOY (rubric); AMBROSIO SAIS (rubric); DOMINGO LÓPEZ DE OCANTO (rubric); LÁZARO DE MIZQUIA (rubric); ALONSO DE MORRAGA (rubric); JUAN DE MADRID; FRANCISCO DE MADRID (rubric); ROQUE DE MADRID (rubric); JUAN DEL RÍO (rubric); BERNABÉ MÁRQUEZ (rubric); FELIPE ROMERO (rubric); DIEGO LÓPEZ SAMBRANO (rubric); CRISTÓBAL DE VELASCO (rubric); DOMINGO MARTÍN (rubric).

The ayudante, Sebastián González, says that he concurs wholly in the opinion of the honorable cabildo, and he signed it. SEBASTIÁN GONZÁLEZ (rubric).

I, Captain Francisco Xavier, say that I concur wholly in the opinion of the honorable cabildo, and I signed it. FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Don Fernando Durán y Chávez said that on meeting his Majesty's wagons and safeguarding the families both as to their persons and as to provisions, and the soldiers being supplied in the best manner possible, they should return to this kingdom immediately and without any delay to reconnoiter the Indians and ascertain the condition of everything; and he said that to this end he will labor in the service of God and of his Majesty, and he signed it. FERNANDO DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

1. This signature may be that of the same individual given elsewhere as Juan Severino Rodríguez de Suballe, or Ceballos.

Opinion of the cabildo. [Fray Cristóbal, September 14, 1680.]

Señor Governor and Captain-General: The cabildo, justicia, y regimiento of the villa of Santa Fe of this kingdom and these provinces, having seen your lordship's *auto*, published in this plaza de armas in the place of Fray Cristóbal, says: As a matter of common knowledge, which is evident to your lordship, the inhabitants of this kingdom and the members of this cabildo, for many days, with absolute obedience, have been day and night with their arms in their hands, some attending the person of your lordship and the royal standard in the siege which took place, fighting against and destroying the enemy, and others in the defense of their lives and families, all working toward the end of defending this portion of his Majesty's crown, and looking above all else to the preservation of the evangelical law. But the discord which the devil has sown among the natives of these provinces urged them to the general rebellion which they have carried out, from which the persons who are to-day in this army were miraculously saved, with great losses of those who have died in the war. All our people are naked, dying of hunger, with our haciendas burned, our dwellings demolished, and we are without beasts for the defense of the kingdom, this being the principal nerve of warfare, since most have been obliged to bring out their women and children marching on foot. The enemy is in possession of everything, having withdrawn with all their spoils to the heights and rugged places of the roughest sierras. These reasons constrain us and dampen our ardor, as loyal vassals of his Majesty, for defending this church and kingdom. Therefore, considering these reasons and many others, and the fact that this army finds itself to-day without even a small supply of maize—for here, where there are more than two thousand five hundred souls, and among them a few more than a hundred soldiers, all the rest being women and children, there are not to be found twenty fanegas of maize—and that the nearest provisions are in the power of the enemy, more than forty leagues from this place, for which reason his lordship has been obliged to send troops and a notice to the jurisdiction of the Mansos Indians to seek provisions for the succor of this army; in consideration of all this, notwithstanding the reasons expressed, and

without intending to depopulate the kingdom, and because of being in the country inhabited by the heathen Apache enemies, far from all the settled portion of the kingdom, we advise that your lordship see fit to improve your position. After safeguarding the families of women and children with whom we are burdened and who are perishing in this region, a report should be given to his Majesty, through his viceroy and real acuerdo, so that, with Christian zeal, he may give us succor and the forces necessary for returning to restore the kingdom by force of arms. Meanwhile, until his Majesty shall determine what he desires us to do, we, the vassals who are in this army, should assemble in a suitable place; and if any one, through the necessity which he may experience as a person in abject poverty and robbed by the enemy, shall be forced to leave the place where the halt is made, he may ask permission, and with letters from your lordship and the permission given him he may go, always returning to comply with his Majesty's orders. And the prelate or prelates who belong to the holy Order of Saint Francis may be required to give us the ministers necessary for the administration of the holy gospel. Above all, your lordship will do that which you regard as conducive to the service of God and of his Majesty, which will be the best; and your lordship will be pleased to order a copy of this document given to us, certified in due legal form. FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); GREGORIO DE VALDÉS (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ALONSO DEL RÍO. Before me, who certify to it. BACHILLER FRANCISCO DE VELASCO, clerk of the cabildo (rubric).

[In the margin:] With the *autos*.

Auto [of Antonio de Otermín. Fray Cristóbal, September 13 (14?), 1680].

In the place of Fray Cristóbal on the said 13th [14th?] day of September of the said year, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of these provinces for his Majesty, states: That, having drawn up the proceedings which appear in these *autos*, with due regard in everything for the service of the two Majesties and for bringing about the reduction of the souls of the apostate Indian rebels—who blindly and barbarously

have attempted to condemn themselves, committing enormous crimes which have resulted in the destruction of the kingdom, driving out its inhabitants with their treachery, perfidy, and robberies—in this matter, for the better service of his Majesty and in the interest of the public good, *autos*, juntas, and opinions have been formed, all of which appear in the proceedings. I acted in this with due deliberation, in order to be able to return to settle and reduce everything to the condition in which it was formerly, this being the end desired, so that Christianity may not perish and so that, through failure to take such steps as are possible, the discord of the devil may not gain control among the natives, with idolatries and superstitions, which is that to which their stupid ignorance predisposes them, for they live blindly in their freedom and stupid vices. Notwithstanding all the above measures, and others that could be added to them, I determined that an *auto* should be published in this plaza de armas at the sound of the drum and by the voice of the crier, issuing a summons for the opinions and votes of the religious, members of the cabildo, military officers, and others of the soldiers who are in this army at present, who, having heard the matters proposed and the discussion concerning them, gave their opinions and votes as may be seen therein. They requested me—in view of the serious lack of provisions which is generally felt in the army, and of the region where we are and its environs being cut up and burned, no pasturage being available for the few cattle and beasts which are left, and for many other causes and reasons which they have advanced—that the camp be moved to a different place where the said cattle can be pastured, and where they themselves may be succored with provisions, for there are none here and no place where they may be purchased. Thus I have been obliged to send a dispatch to the very reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office, visitador general of this holy custodia and procurador general of it, so that, as a prelate so zealous in the service of his Majesty, and who has had much experience in the things that he has done in his royal service, he may favor this cause, it being of such importance, giving the necessary provisions to

enable us to act effectively. As his reverence is in the new conversions of the Sumas and the Mansos of the Río del Norte, which is more than sixty leagues away from this place, I have sent squadrons and notices to him asking for the said succor. And inasmuch as, while I was engaged in these matters, I received a letter from the said very reverend father visitador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, from the contents of which it appears that my letters and request for the aid so much needed have not reached him, and seeing that in the said letter he tells me that he has matters to communicate to me concerning the service of God and of his Majesty which admit of no delay, because of their serious nature, therefore, in order better to attend to them and to prevent loss of time, and also to hasten the sending of the supplies and other necessary things—giving permission only that the camp may march from this post to another more suitable and fit for its needs, without exceeding the jurisdiction and rights which belong to his Majesty (whom God keep) in the ownership and possession acquired in his royal name through so many years in these parts, they remaining always in full force and vigor so that they may not be abandoned—I ordered that a squadron of twelve mounted harquebusiers from the best men available be made ready so that they may march with my person to the said conversions of the Río del Norte, where the said reverend father visitador general, who is to succor the royal army, is at present, and so that he himself may inform me of the reasons which have caused him to summon me in the service of the two Majesties, as stated in his letter written on a sheet of paper, which I cite. I directed that the original of it be inserted in these *autos*, so that it may be permanently on record, and that the march be begun immediately, as ordered, postponing action on the said opinions until my return from the journey, when that which is most conducive to the royal service will be ascertained. I so provided, ordered, and signed, before the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

*Letter of Ayeta to the viceroy in which he advises him that the governor is alive, and of how he had escaped, what happened to him as regards the Indians, and how he was going to aid them with provisions and to care for the Spaniards in order to relieve them in part after the many hardships they were suffering and had suffered. [El Paso, September 16, 1680.]*¹

Most Excellent and Illustrious Sir. Dear Sir: I have reported to your excellency by the father preacher, Fray Nicolás López, the first news of the disaster in New Mexico, and by the second courier the news that I had on September 4. While I judged that the third notice would tell of the most recent happenings in this matter, the information seems to me uncertain, but this third courier will advise your excellency of what is known.

The aid which I sent, most excellent Sir, found Governor Don Antonio de Otermín at the place which they call Las Vueltas de Acomilla, without his having joined the body of people who were coming ahead of him. He wrote me a letter, of which I am sending your excellency a certified copy, asking me for aid, and sent it by some of those who were with Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva (who is returning to go back with me). In reply to it, most excellent Sir, since God has been pleased that the disturbances in this pueblo have subsided and I shall not be needed here, I am going to obey him with all possible speed, for I received the said letter at ten o'clock in the morning on the day before yesterday, Saturday, the 14th, and to-day, Monday, at eight o'clock in the morning (having dispatched this morning twenty-four wagons with provisions and the goods necessary to win their good will) I am writing to your excellency, as I have been unable to do hitherto. As I finish the dispatch to give it to the courier, I am leaving to overtake them, and I trust in the Queen of the Angels to be days on my way by to-night. For although it is sixty leagues, I shall travel day and night, since for the sake of speed each wagon carries less than half an ordinary load. I can not take all thirty because the men belonging to six of them ran away

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 83, Library of the University of Texas.

last night, apparently having little liking for going to war. I regret having no one to take their places, and those of some horses which they carried off; however, enough are going. I am troubled only about what I shall say to your excellency in the following article by way of warning, so that your excellency's notable abilities may deliberate upon and make suitable provision concerning it, as in everything. If I ought not to make the request, and should be blundering, I again ask pardon, in God's name, assuring you that these are errors arising from zeal and desire for a favorable outcome.

Most excellent Sir, by my secretary and another trustworthy man the governor advises me that he is exceedingly troubled because he finds the people who are coming with him very reluctant to stop, and consequently he has much more fear and misgiving about controlling the division that is going ahead and is in Fray Cristóbal, inasmuch as these others have made clear their own position by the ill will with which they remained when the news reached them that he [the governor] was alive, along with the order that they should halt. They did so, and I do not doubt that the two forces are now joined together. The governor desires to go back against the enemy and make a stand, since in fact there is a sufficient force assembled, for I have no words in which to convey to your excellency the difference in forces which can be brought together to-day, when their numbers are smaller than ever. For prior to this disaster it did not seem that the kingdom had them, the reason being, most excellent Sir, that those who perished as well as those who are retreating were so scattered and at such great distances from one another on small ranchos and haciendas, that they could not help each other, and it was a great matter to be able to get together thirty men. Now, if it is possible to detain them, there will be in all a hundred and fifty men bearing arms, and, leaving fifty in a pueblo to guard the women and children, in my poor judgment, Sir, it seems that there remain enough men to punish them [the Indians], to compel them against their will, and to restrain them as never before, and even to shake the earth. This is the remedy, impossible to accomplish unless by the help of God in inducing

these people to make a halt, because, they having been harassed by the enemy Apaches for many days, as were all the citizens who managed to come out, if it is not accomplished before they enter the pueblo where I am writing this, which is in the jurisdiction of La Vizcaya, there will be nothing to keep them from challenging jurisdiction. Although for three years now some families have been agreed among themselves to leave the kingdom, they have delayed doing so, encouraged by the aid which your excellency (whom God keep) sent them; and, strengthened by the hope of the presidio which was requested, they dissimulated their hardships. They were in this state when I wrote from Parral that I was coming with the dispatches which made no provision for a presidio, but that I trusted in God that the flota would bring a favorable decision. Their understanding is limited and they know little of flotas, and no doubt they despaired of the relief for which they had hoped from the said presidio. The assaults of the enemy not ceasing and their hardships continuing, I am informed that some forty families resolved to unite in any way they could in order to leave. The governor, having known about it for something like five months, managed to quiet them by prudent measures, satisfying himself that they had abandoned the intention of flight. In this he acted very wisely, for in the case of these, as with every one in this kingdom, if one avoids a son or a brother he lights upon a nephew or a cousin, and when one is touched they all cry out, and a poor governor has no one to whom he can turn for anything. I went on, most excellent Sir, to point out to the governor that neither, in such a strait, could he use the authority of justice to punish any disorders except the most serious crimes, being confident that if he did, they would join together and leave. Inasmuch as he had no paid troops nor any one to depend upon except these people themselves, and since saying "I shall go," and going, are in fact the same thing—for which reasons the governors never have dared to stir them up, since they can do so only when there is need to punish the Apaches, but by no means can they inflict legal punishments—this being true, the present occasion has come to fulfil the desires of those who wish to leave, and, as I have said, they are

influencing their relatives and friends. I therefore fear, and greatly, that neither the efforts of the poor governor nor my own will avail; but I have faith in God, who must work with His powerful hand.

These, most excellent Sir, are the antecedents which have discouraged the governor and left him almost without hope of making them halt, for they say that they will do so here. He knows that this is only a subterfuge for them to get into the jurisdiction of La Vizcaya so that then each one may go his way as he pleases, inasmuch as Don Antonio de Otermín can not detain them here, for lack of authority. For this reason he is justly apprehensive and therefore sends to summon me very urgently, and admonishes me to conceal his information until my arrival. On our finding ourselves all together, he will recall to them the obligation which they owe as vassals, and will attempt to comply at all costs with the obligations of his office and of his rank. And I, in effect, am going to assist him and do what I can on my part. To accompany my words I am taking in the wagons a very handsome portion [of goods and provisions] with which to placate and persuade them, and your excellency need not doubt that my poor religious and I will assist them to such an extent that they will have no grounds left for complaint. Assuming all this, most excellent Sir, it occurs to me to advise your excellency that the result must be one of two things. One is that they will be induced to halt and gain a good pueblo, which they have already passed beyond (this is what I regard as best); the other is that these people will not be persuaded to halt for good or for ill, since there is not sufficient force to bring this about, because of the inconveniences which I have already mentioned. In this case it must be pretended that they will halt in this pueblo and that from here (having recovered from their hardships and safeguarded their women) they will return to punish them [the Indians] and reduce them. This, most excellent Sir, is what the Castilians call a strategem, and will be only a hoax for getting themselves out of the kingdom. In case this second possibility materializes, which is most likely in view of the information I have, I am writing to the governor of El Parral,

Don Bartolomé de Estrada, begging him earnestly to send here a strict order to his *alcalde mayor* or lieutenant, or to adopt such other means as may seem best to his prudence and zeal, so that they may be notified that they are not to leave here until your excellency shall send a formal dispatch to that effect (which is now needed), or shall order them whatever may seem best to you in the matter. If your excellency should be pleased to decide that in case they unite (notwithstanding their being in the jurisdiction of La Vizcaya) they shall obey their governor, Don Antonio de Otermín, it seems, most excellent Sir, that nothing will be lost. For after reaching safety it will be possible to take measures for the restoration of what has been lost, although with somewhat more trouble, and so that such a large body of apostate Christians, in a conversion dating back almost a century, may not remain without help. If God has been pleased to grant that his Majesty (whom God keep) shall send word conceding the presidio which is requested, we would all come to believe, most excellent Sir, that which some great servants of God said more than sixty years ago to the effect that very great ruin and destruction would overtake New Mexico as a consequence of an attack upon Christianity, but that then Christianity would increase to great opulence and exaltation, and with greater riches than all those discovered in New Spain. These sayings, Sir, have been held in great esteem and reverence among the religious since they were first pronounced, for their authors, because of their great virtues, exemplary lives, and miracles (which will be known one day), demanded much attention for what they said.

This, most excellent Sir, is what occurs to me to report to your excellency, and thus I proceed to close the packet of letters and go to overtake the wagons, which are now beginning to cross the river, and to discuss how to deceive and detain these people until the arrival of your excellency's dispatch and the remedy which we all await, as ever, from your great sagacity.

May our Lord keep and prosper, as He can, the important and necessary person of your excellency for the good of the monarchy and of His church, as your humblest servant desires. El Paso, September 16, 1680. Most excellent Sir. My dear Sir,

your humblest chaplain and servant kisses your excellency's hands. FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA.

*Decree of the señor archbishop viceroy. Mexico, October 15, 1680.*¹

Mexico, October 15, 1680. Having to-day received this letter, with another of August 29 from Governor Pedro de Leiva and other officials, inclosing two certified copies of documents which contain the notices of events occasioned by the invasion of the heathen Indians of the provinces of New Mexico, and the matter being so serious, as is there stated, and necessitating considerable time and a thorough investigation for making a decision upon it; and because it appears that more certain, definite, and detailed information should be awaited, and the entrance into this government of the most excellent señor, the Count of Paredes, Marquis of La Laguna, being so near, the decision as to what should be done in this matter is reserved for his excellency. Signed with the rubric of the most excellent señor archbishop viceroy.

Auto and judicial proceeding. [Place of La Salineta, September 18, 1680.]

In the place of La Salineta, four leagues from the conversion of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso del Río del Norte, on the 18th day of the month of September, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of the provinces of New Mexico for his Majesty, said: That he has traveled sixty leagues, more or less, from the place which they call Fray Cristóbal to this one, La Salineta, in search of the very reverend father visitador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, father of this holy custodia and procurador general of the royal provision of alms from his Majesty, so that in his pious zeal he may succor with provisions of meat and maize more than two thousand five hundred persons who, despoiled by the general rebellion of the Christian Indian inhabitants of the said New Mexico, have marched out under his lordship's protection.

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 90, Library of the University of Texas.

They have come on foot, perishing from hunger, fatigued, and suffering for many other necessities. The said governor and captain-general reported all this to the said reverend father commissary visitador, so that he might succor them and give them some relief in their great need, for the aid which he is requesting is dictated by extreme necessity. For the purpose of dispatching the said aid more effectively and speedily, the governor, leaving Maestres de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo and Alonso García in charge of the camp, marched with twelve men a long distance through country entirely inhabited by the fierce heathen enemies of the Apache nation, until reaching the new conversions of the Río del Norte, where the said very reverend father commissary visitador was. He did so, alike in order to obtain the said aid and so that he [Father Ayeta] might communicate to him the matters which he notified [his lordship] in his letter were to the service of God and of his Majesty. Proceeding on his journey for the said purposes, he found in this place that the said very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, was coming to bring the relief with twenty-four wagons loaded with provisions and other things in the way of clothing and military supplies to meet the needs of the many Spaniards and children of the families robbed by the enemy. The Río del Norte was in flood, due to the many freshets of snow and rain, having gone out of its banks and spread over all the plains, roads, and low places. It was impossible to move the said wagons because of the many miry places, for the beasts on which the said governor and captain-general and the soldiers who followed him were riding sank in the roads up to their haunches. Notwithstanding this fact, on reaching the said place of La Salineta to-day, the said day, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, it was seen that the said reverend father commissary visitador, attempting to overcome so many difficulties and to cross the Río del Norte, in order to succeed in bringing the said relief, went personally in the first wagon, loaded with provisions and other things. Having attached four lines of mules to the said wagon, he drove them into the river, swimming. The water came in through the opening of the wagon to the height of more than half a vara,

where the said very reverend father commissary visitador found his life in manifest danger, the said wagon being surrounded with water and stranded in the middle of the river, where it sank until the wheels were covered. Many persons came to his assistance to bring him out. They did so, carrying him, but many of the things that were being brought in the said wagon were lost or damaged. Having come out in the presence of the said governor and captain-general and the other persons who were there, both those who were marching with his lordship and those who were coming in the said wagons, his reverence—in order to attend to his Majesty's service and to the welfare of his vassals, who were destitute and in such need of sustenance—insisted that, regardless of loss, all the wagons cross the river. This was found to be impossible, both because of the river and of the miry fields and roads, and although his reverence made many efforts to transport the said supplies, he was prevented by the causes mentioned. It was then arranged between his lordship and the said very reverend father that a number of pack mules should be dispatched, and as many horses as possible, both those belonging to the soldiers of the garrison and escort and to other individuals, all of which were made ready at once, without any delay. They were sent immediately, loaded with maize, biscuits, flour, chocolate, and sugar, the said supplies being consigned to Lieutenants General Francisco Gómez and Alonso García, so that they might distribute them among the people. All the other things with which the twenty-four wagons were laden remained in reserve and ready, so that when those who were taking the other things arrived at the army, they and all the rest of the men who could, might return to carry the said goods for their maintenance and needs. The soldiers having marched, as stated, with the said supplies, in order that his lordship might inform himself of the quantity of provisions and other things of which the cargoes of the said twenty-four wagons consisted, twenty-three of which were on the other side of the river and one on this side, and so that he might see for himself the amount of grain which is now in the storerooms of the convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, and the other things needed for the sustenance and aid

of as many people as are marching with the said governor, and so that he might see whether there is enough—and if not, to see that all necessary efforts are made to obtain them elsewhere, with the haste which the matter demands, to prevent there being a shortage in such an emergency—the said reverend father commissary visitador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, acting with the zeal of a person so attached to the service of both Majesties, repeatedly urged and requested the said governor and captain-general to go himself to the other side of the Río del Norte, accompanied by experienced persons, to see and note everything that was in the said wagons; and having seen this, he requested that he go in the same way to the said convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso to see and note what was in the said storerooms, and that he make use of what is most suitable, alike of grain, beef, and mutton. In consideration of the above his lordship decided to go with only six soldiers, so as to return from there as quickly as possible to the camp of his army, which is coming in such great need. For the purpose of recording it, he ordered it set down as a judicial proceeding, and signed it with the said reverend father commissary visitador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, before me, the present secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto and judicial proceeding. [La Salineta, September 22, 1680.]

In this place of La Salineta on the Río del Norte, in the jurisdiction of New Mexico, on the 22d day of the month of September, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this said kingdom for his Majesty, said: That in virtue of the invitation which the reverend father commissary visitador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, gave his lordship to see and note the quantity of provisions that are in the twenty-four wagons which are at this said place, as well as in the storehouses of the convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, he went to them, opened and examined them.

On making a computation of the quantity of provisions that were in the wagons and also in the said storehouses, it was seen that in the said two places there was a quantity amounting to four hundred fanegas of shelled corn, which amount, with another four hundred head of beef cattle, his reverence placed in manifest so that it might be distributed immediately, as was done, to the people who were marching under his lordship's orders. The said very reverend father directed at once that word be sent to Casas Grandes and Taraumares and other suitable places to buy all the amounts of corn and meat needed, so that such a large number of persons might not be wanting for sustenance. For purposes of the record, on returning to this place it was set down as a judicial proceeding, and the said governor and the very reverend father signed it before me, the present secretary of government and war, with a declaration of the above pending his excellency's decision, which will be the most fitting. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

*Another letter of the same [Don Bartolomé de Estrada] of La Nueva Vizcaya, in which he advises the viceroy how he has ordered, under severe penalties, that no person from New Mexico be admitted into that kingdom, because of the governor [of New Mexico] having informed him that the Spaniards were deserting him. [Parral, September 25, 1680.]*¹

Most Excellent Sir: By this post, which the father procurador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, is dispatching to your excellency, I have received notice of the care and anxiety which the governor of New Mexico is experiencing as a result of having heard reports among the few citizens who are left—and in no uncertain terms—that they all desire to leave and abandon the person of their governor and the kingdom itself. To prevent this I am sending a dispatch to the alcaldes mayores of this jurisdiction, which borders upon that of New Mexico, to the effect that any citizen or person who may come from there

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 114, Library of the University of Texas.

without permission in writing from his governor, shall be warned on penalty of his life and of treason to the king to return to attend the person of his governor; and that if any one shall resist they shall send him here to me to be punished, pending action by your excellency, as the one to whom appertains the measures to be taken and the assistance for the relief of that kingdom.

I again represent to your excellency that in this matter the one remedy which I see is to declare as slaves, for a period of ten years, all the hostile Indians who may be captured, this to apply beginning with the age of sixteen. I regard this as much lighter punishment than their iniquity and wrongdoing deserve, and while his Majesty's orders oppose it, circumstances alter cases. It has seemed to me to be my obligation to call this to your excellency's attention because of the information that I have, and because of my experience. Your excellency, with your great comprehension, I believe will always do what is best and most conducive to the service of both Majesties.

God keep your excellency many years in the greater grandeur which you deserve and of which I have need. Parral, September 25, 1680. Most excellent Sir, your most humble servant kisses your excellency's feet. DON BARTOLOMÉ DE ESTRADA.

Auto for passing muster, reviewing arms and horses, and other things. [Place opposite La Salineta, September 29, 1680.]

In the place opposite La Salineta, on the banks of the Río del Norte, jurisdiction of New Mexico, on the 29th day of the month of September, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and these provinces of New Mexico for his Majesty, said: That, as a result of the general uprising of the Christian Indians, he has adopted all the measures that have been possible to him and that appear in the documents drawn up, always with a view of furthering and safeguarding his Majesty's cause, arranging matters to the best of his ability in such a serious affair for more successfully reducing the Christian Indians to their former state, notwithstanding the said Indians having rebelled so unexpectedly, all taking up arms

at once in a single hour, attacking as they did in the other jurisdictions of the kingdom, where they committed the atrocities, perfidies, sacrileges, and robberies which have been seen and that are matters of public knowledge. He has always exercised due care in the adoption of remedies intended to return the said Indians to the knowledge of our holy faith and to vassalage to his Majesty, and designed to safeguard the lives of the families and citizens who have escaped miraculously from the said rebellion, so that they might meet the obligations of loyal vassals of his Majesty. We have had constant difficulties due to the enemy's having divided us, destroying the lives and property of half the kingdom, where he took great care to place troops and ambushes on the roads and heights, and in the pueblos, killing many persons and Spanish soldiers, so that there might be no news either of myself and the people who were with me or of those whom they had forced to retire to the pueblo of La Isleta, which is more than thirty leagues from the villa of Santa Fe. The said enemy spread general reports both to me when they were besieging me that they had destroyed every one in the kingdom, and to the others that I and all the people with me were dead, always attempting to put an end to every one. I having defeated them in the villa of Santa Fe, leaving many Indians dead, and having marched out from among all of them and overtaken the rest of the people who were left in the kingdom, and both groups of us finding ourselves robbed and despoiled, lacking food and horses, and with most of our firearms out of order, several juntas were held, which appear in the *autos* to which I refer, all of them directed toward deciding what was the best thing that could be done in the royal service. As a result of these, it was determined in the place which they call Fray Cristóbal—due to the serious lack of provisions and to there being no place from which to obtain them and in which to safeguard so many families, and so that all these souls might not perish, alike from this cause and because of being in the midst of the Apache enemies—that we move to a better position, in order to accomplish both purposes. Seeing this, I mounted on horseback and without any delay marched with twelve persons to this place, where

I found the reverend father commissary visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, procurador general of the kingdom, with twenty-four wagon loads of provisions and other things with which to succor all the people who were marching, who were helped as well as possible, and to-day are being helped in the same manner. And in order to inform myself and so that it may be clear how many soldiers there are, both experienced men and youths; and how many horses and arms are left, and in what condition they are, those belonging to the Spanish citizens as well as those of his Majesty; and in order to be better prepared in this place where all of us can be assisted more readily, for the determination and execution of whatever may be resolved upon in the service of God and of his Majesty; and so that it may be known how many men bearing arms are here at present who can enter the royal service, and how many people may be dead at the hands of the enemy, I order that all the soldiers and persons who are here to-day in this army pass muster before me, exhibiting their arms, horses, leather jackets, and other things needed in the royal service, so that, informed of everything, I may proceed with what is most convenient. This *auto* shall be published in the plaza de armas of this army by the secretary of government and war, by the voice of the crier and at the sound of the drum, this being conducive to the royal service. For compliance with it I so provided, ordered, and signed before the said secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). By order of his lordship. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Then immediately on the said day, month, and year, I, the secretary, caused the above *auto* to be published as ordered by his lordship, before a large concourse of people, to which I certify. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Immediately following the publication of the edict, the muster proceeded in the following manner. Maestre de Campo Francisco Xavier, alcalde ordinario de primer voto. He passed muster with six very lean horses, unfit for service, a sword, a dagger, a leather jacket, an harquebus, and a shield. He was robbed of all his property by the enemy; and so that it may

be recorded, he signed it. He declared that of his family he was bringing four daughters, two sons, and a female servant. FRANCISCO XAVIER, *alcalde ordinario* (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Juan Lucero de Godoy, *alcalde ordinario de segundo voto*, exhibited a sword, a dagger, and an *harquebus*; a lean horse; four grown sons capable of bearing arms, all unclothed and unarmed; four grown daughters, and five servants. He is married; and he signed it. JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric).

Gregorio Valdés, *alguacil mayor*, *regidor de primer voto*, and clerk, passed muster with five horses useless for service, an *harquebus*, a sword, a dagger, and a leather jacket. He is married, with two sons, a little girl, and an Indian servant woman. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. GREGORIO DE VALDÉS (rubric).

Sargento Luis Granillo, *regidor de segundo voto* and *procurador general* of the kingdom, passed muster with nine very hard-used horses and a full complement of personal arms. He is married, without children, and has three grown brothers able to bear arms, but having none, nor any horses. He has three servants. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. LUIS GRANILLO (rubric).

Captain Alonso del Río, *regidor de tercer voto*, married and without children, passed muster with three lean and worn-out horses; an *harquebus* belonging to his Majesty; a sword, a dagger, and a leather jacket of his own; and a servant. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. ALONSO DEL RÍO (rubric).

Bachiller Francisco de Velasco, secretary of the *cabildo*, passed muster on foot, without any beasts; with an *harquebus* and sword belonging to his Majesty; and a leather jacket and a saddle of his own. He is married and has a daughter; and he signs it. BACHILLER FRANCISCO DE VELASCO (rubric).

Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo, lieutenant of the governor and captain-general, married, passed muster with eight horses and five mules, lean and worn out; also four firearms. He has one grown son, in addition to five daughters and two sons, all children; an unmarried sister; a sister-in-law

with seven small children; and twenty servants, old and young. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. FRANCISCO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO (rubric).

Maestre de Campo Alonso García, lieutenant of the governor and captain-general in the jurisdictions of Río Abajo, married, passed muster with eighty horses and five mules, all lean, suffering from lockjaw, and worn out from the service of the above-named, his three sons, and two sons-in-law. They all have a complement of personal arms supplied by the said lieutenant general, and two of the sons and the two sons-in-law are married. There are twelve persons in the family and twenty-two servants, and one other young man capable of bearing arms, carrying an harquebus belonging to his Majesty. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric).

Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza passed muster with a full complement of personal arms, four soldier sons, all with personal arms, and thirty lean and worn-out horses with which they all serve his Majesty. He is married and has four children, three of the sons being married with eight children in their families. There are fifty-five persons in all, including male and female servants, young and old. The above-named and his sons as well were robbed by the enemy of cattle, houses, and crops, and in this conflict and uprising the rebels killed thirty-eight Spanish persons, all being his daughters, grandchildren, sons-in-law, sisters, nephews, nieces, and sisters-in-law, as is a matter of common knowledge. He signs it. THOMÉ DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric).

Maestre de Campo Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, married, passed muster with a full complement of personal arms and four additional firearms; a son capable of serving his Majesty, and another younger one; a little girl; thirty-two lean horses and eight mules; three orphan Spanish girls whom he was rearing in his house; and thirty-three servants, young and old. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signs it. JUAN DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric).

Pedro de Leiva, present maestre de campo of the kingdom, passed muster for himself and three of his sons, all of whom

are serving his Majesty with full complements of personal arms and twenty-five horses which they all use, some in good condition and the rest lean. The enemy killed the wife, two grown daughters, and two soldier sons of the above-named, three grandchildren and a daughter-in-law being in the pueblo of Galisteo; and of thirty servants whom he had, the enemy left him three, robbing him and his sons of all their property. He signed it. PEDRO DE LEIVA (rubric).

Captain Ignacio Vaca, married, passed muster with six lean and tired horses, a full complement of personal arms, four small children, and twenty servants, old and young. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. IGNACIO VACA (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Sebastián de Herrera passed muster with only one lean horse, a full complement of personal arms, a son whom he has who can serve his Majesty, two other small sons and two little daughters, and sixteen servants. The enemy killed his wife, mother-in-law, and a brother-in-law, and robbed him of all his property. He signed it. SEBASTIÁN DE HERRERA (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana passed muster with four lean horses, a full complement of personal arms, an infant daughter, and four servants. He was robbed of his house and property by the enemy; and he signed it. LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric).

Nicolás Lucero de Godoy, present adjutant of the kingdom, passed muster with an harquebus, a sword, and a dagger; on foot, and robbed by the enemy. He is married; and he escaped from the enemy, having been surrounded. He signed it. NICOLÁS LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric).

Captain Joseph de Padilla passed muster with a worn-out horse and a full complement of personal arms. He is married and has five children and six servants, old and young. The enemy robbed his house. He signed it. JOSEPH DE PADILLA (rubric).

Captain Gonzalo de Paredes passed muster with two lean horses and a full complement of personal arms. He is married and has five small children and eleven servants. He was robbed

by the enemy; and he signed it. GONZALO DE PAREDES (rubric).

Captain Don Joseph de Chávez passed muster with three horses and four mules, a full complement of personal arms, ten servants, his wife, and a child; and he signed it. DON JOSEPH DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ (rubric).

Antonio Gallegos passed muster with two lean horses and a full complement of personal arms. He is married and has two very small children and three servants. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. ANTONIO GALLEGOS (rubric).

Captain Juan Luis, the elder, passed muster with a worn-out mare and a broken harquebus, not having any other arms. He is married, has a grown son without any equipment, two children—correction, three—and a servant. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. JUAN LUIS (rubric).

Captain Salvador Olgúin passed muster with six lean horses and a full complement of personal arms. He is married, with nine children and ten servants. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. SALVADOR OLGUÍN (rubric).

Captain Juan Luis, the younger, passed muster with a lean horse, a broken harquebus which is useless, a sword, and a leather jacket. He is married with one child, and is extremely poor. He signed it. JUAN LUIS.

Alférez Francisco Varela passed muster with five fat beasts, a full complement of personal arms, his mother, four brothers, and two servants. The enemy robbed him and killed his wife. He signed it. FRANCISCO VARELA (rubric).

Antonio de Montoya passed muster with a lean horse, an harquebus, and a sword. He is married with three children and two servants. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. ANTONIO MONTOYA (rubric).

Felipe Montoya passed muster on foot and naked, being extremely poor. He has one worn-out horse, and four sons. He signed it. FELIPE MONTOYA.

Sargento Mayor Diego Lucero de Godoy passed muster with ten lean beasts, a full complement of personal arms, and an armed servant. The enemy killed thirty-two persons [of his family]—mother, brothers, sons, and servants—and robbed him

of all his property. He signed it. **DIEGO LUCERO DE GODOY** (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Ambrosio Sais passed muster with two lean horses and a full complement of personal arms; two sons, naked and without equipment; his wife; eight more small children; and seven servants. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. **AMBROSIO SAIS** (rubric).

Captain Don Fernando de Chávez passed muster with eight lean and sore-backed horses, an harquebus, and a sword. He is married, with four small children and two servants. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. **FERNANDO DE CHÁVEZ** (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Diego López Sambrano passed muster with eight lean horses, a full complement of personal arms, and some horse-armor. He is married, with six small children and seven servants. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. **DIEGO LÓPEZ SAMBRANO** (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Domingo López de Ocanto, being ill, passed muster with a horse, an harquebus, and a leather jacket. He is married, with six children, is extremely poor, and has no servants. He signed it. **DOMINGO LÓPEZ DE OCANTO** (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Don Felipe Albisu passed muster on foot, naked, and with an harquebus. He is married, with two grown sons and six small sons and daughters. He has no possessions and is extremely poor; and he signed it. **FELIPE DE ALBISU** (rubric).

Captain Francisco de Madrid passed muster with four beasts and one harquebus. He is married, with four small children and a female servant; and he signed it. **FRANCISCO DE MADRID** (rubric).

Captain Pablo de Ortega passed muster with five very lean beasts, an harquebus, a sword, and a leather jacket. He is married, with six small children, and was robbed by the enemy. He signed it. **PABLO DE ORTEGA** (rubric).

Captain Alonso Ramírez passed muster on foot, with a sword. He is married, with six children, and is extremely poor. He signed it. **ALONSO RAMÍREZ** (rubric).

Alférez Felipe Serna passed muster on foot with only an

harquebus. He is married, with eight children, and is extremely poor. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. FELIPE SERNA (rubric).

Captain Roque de Madrid passed muster with three lean horses and two lean and worn-out mules, a full complement of personal arms, and with his wife and two small children. His house was robbed by the enemy and he is extremely poor. He signed it. ROQUE DE MADRID (rubric).

Alférez Pedro Martín, married, passed muster with three lean horses, his personal arms, and with eight sons and daughters. His house and cornfields were robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. PEDRO MARTÍN SERRANO (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Pedro Durán y Chávez, married, passed muster with eight lean horses and others which have strayed on the journey, with which his honor and a son of his were serving his Majesty; he and his son have a full complement of personal arms. He has also ten small children and thirty servants, old and young. The enemy robbed his house, crops, and property. He signed it. PEDRO DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ (rubric).

Cristóbal de Tapia passed muster with two lean horses and a jack, and a full complement of personal arms. He is married, without children, and has four servants. CRISTÓBAL DE TAPIA (rubric).

Manuel de Valencia, ill, passed muster with two lean horses and his personal arms. He is married, with four small children and two servants; and he signed it. MANUEL DE VALENCIA (rubric).

Alférez Domingo Martín passed muster with a beast belonging to him, and an arquebus and sword of his Majesty. He is married, with two children, and without any servant. He is extremely poor; and he signed it. DOMINGO MARTÍN (rubric).

Don Francisco Rascón passed muster with two horses, one his own and the other belonging to his Majesty, and an arquebus and sword of his Majesty. He is married, without children, and during the revolt the Indians carried off two of his horses. He signed it. DON FRANCISCO RASCÓN (rubric).

Joseph de la Serna passed muster with a horse with trap-

pings, and an harquebus, all belonging to his Majesty. He is alone; and he signed it. JOSEPH DE LA SERNA (rubric).

Sargento Francisco de Aguilar passed muster on foot with an harquebus and sword belonging to his Majesty. He is married, without children. He signed it. FRANCISCO DE AGUILAR (rubric).

Captain Antonio de Avalos passed muster with two horses and some horse-armor of his own, and an harquebus belonging to his Majesty. He is married, with eight children, and is extremely poor. He signed it. ANTONIO DE AVALOS (rubric).

Pedro de Cuellar passed muster with four lean horses, an harquebus belonging to his Majesty, and horse-armor of his own, and a boy who serves him. During the rebellion the enemy killed his wife and daughter and robbed him of his few goods. He signed it. PEDRO DE CUELLAR (rubric).

Alférez Pedro López passed muster with two lean horses, a sword, and an harquebus. He is married, with an infant daughter, and is extremely poor. He signed it. PEDRO LÓPEZ (rubric).

Captain Luis Martín passed muster with a lean horse, and a broken harquebus belonging to the king. He is married, with twelve children, including four sons of military age, all naked and extremely poor. He signed it. LUIS MARTÍN (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Lorenzo de Madrid passed muster with two lean horses and a full complement of personal arms. He is married, with a son who is able to serve his Majesty, but who is naked and without any equipment; and he has three servants. The enemy robbed his house and carried off two other servants. He signed it. LORENZO DE MADRID (rubric).

Esteban López passed muster with a horse and sword of his own, and an harquebus belonging to his Majesty. He is married, with two children, and a family of twenty-three persons including mother, brothers, and servants. He signed it. ESTEBAN LÓPEZ (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Diego del Castillo, more than eighty years of age, passed muster on foot and without any arms. He is married, with two grown daughters, and all of them are extremely poor. He signed it. DIEGO DEL CASTILLO (rubric).

Antonio de Ayala passed muster with two lean horses of his own, and an harquebus and sword belonging to his Majesty. He is married, without children, and extremely poor, having no other property except the two horses; and he signed it. ANTONIO DE AYALA (rubric).

Captain Joseph Téllez Jirón passed muster with three very lean and saddle-galled beasts, and a full complement of personal arms. He is married, with three sons and four daughters, two of the sons being able to serve his Majesty. The above-named and all his family are extremely poor, having been robbed by the enemy. He has five servants. He signed it. JOSEPH TÉLLEZ JIRÓN (rubric).

Joseph Gallegos passed muster with two lean horses, a broken harquebus belonging to the king, and a sword and dagger of his own. He is married, with three small children and a servant. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. JOSEPH GALLEGOS (rubric).

Alférez Alonso Varela passed muster with five lean and saddle-galled horses, and an harquebus, a sword, and a jacket. He is married, with five small children and eight servants, and he signed it. ALONSO VARELA DE LOSADA (rubric).

Alférez Francisco Romero passed muster on foot with a broken harquebus, a sword, and a jacket. He is married, with four children and three servants. He signed it. FRANCISCO ROMERO DE PEDRAZA (rubric).

Diego Hurtado passed muster with a fat mare, a sword, and a dagger. He is married, with one daughter, and has his mother, five young sisters, and two servants. He is extremely poor and has been robbed by the enemy. He signed it. DIEGO HURTADO (rubric).

Diego Varela passed muster with two horses of his own, and an harquebus, a leather jacket, and horse-armor belonging to his Majesty. He is married, with a family of two children and five other persons, including his mother and brothers, and an Indian servant woman. He signed it. DIEGO VARELA (rubric).

Diego Luján passed muster with a lean horse of his own, and an harquebus and sword belonging to the king. He is married,

with two small children, and is exceedingly poor. He signed it. **DIEGO LUJÁN** (rubric).

Diego de Montoya passed muster with a lean horse, and no other equipment. He is married, with two small children, and is very poor. He signed it. **DIEGO MONTOYA** (rubric).

Captain Antonio Márquez passed muster with two lean horses, an harquebus, a sword, and a leather jacket. He is married, with five children and eight servants. He signed it. **ANTONIO MÁRQUEZ** (rubric).

Agustín Luján passed muster with a mare and an harquebus, without any other equipment. He is married, with two children, a female servant, and three sisters-in-law. He signed it. **AGUSTÍN LUJÁN** (rubric).

Pedro Márquez passed muster with a lean horse of his own and horse-armor belonging to his Majesty; and one son. The enemy carried off his wife and a daughter. He signed it. **PEDRO MÁRQUEZ**.

Alférez Blas Griego passed muster with three tired and lean horses, a sword and an harquebus, and seventeen persons, including his wife, children, mother, and servants. Already poor, the enemy has robbed him. He signed it. **BLAS GRIEGO** (rubric).

Alférez Antonio Lucero de Godoy passed muster with two beasts of his own, in good condition, and an harquebus and sword belonging to his Majesty. The enemy killed his wife, two children, and four servants, and robbed his hacienda. He signed it. **ANTONIO LUCERO** (rubric).

Captain Juan de Madrid passed muster with two lean horses and a jack, a sword, a shield, and a broken and useless harquebus. He is married, with six small children, all naked. His house was robbed by the enemy. He signed it. **JUAN DE MADRID**.

Captain Juan del Río passed muster with three lean horses and a complement of personal arms. He is married, with seven small children and two servants. He is poor, having no other property. He signed it. **JUAN DEL RÍO** (rubric).

Apolinar Martín passed muster on foot, naked, and without arms. He is married, with two children and three servants, and is extremely poor. He signed it. **APOLINAR MARTÍN** (rubric).

Sebastián González passed muster with two lean and tired horses and another belonging to his Majesty, a sword and an harquebus of his own, and a dagger of the king. He is extremely poor, is married, and has four small children. He signed it. SEBASTIÁN GONZÁLEZ.

Juan de los Marinos passed muster on foot with an harquebus belonging to the king. His family consists of his mother, six brothers, and a female servant, nine in all, and all very poor. He signed it. JUAN DE LOS MARINOS.

Domingo Martín passed muster with three tired and very lean horses, an harquebus, and a leather shield. He is married, with five children and a servant, is extremely poor, and was robbed by the enemy. He signed it. DOMINGO MARTÍN (rubric).

Lázaro de Mizquía passed muster with three lean horses, an harquebus belonging to his Majesty, a sword, and a leather shield. He is married, with two children and three servants, poor and in distress, and his house and hacienda were robbed by the enemy. He signed it. LÁZARO DE MIZQUÍA (rubric).

Francisco García Nieto passed muster with four lean and saddle-galled horses, and only a sword of his own, and a servant. The enemy killed his father and mother, two brothers, a sister-in-law, and four nephews. The enemy robbed him and his parents of everything they had, and of four Indian servants. He signed it. FRANCISCO GARCÍA NIETO (rubric).

Captain Alonso de Moraga passed muster with four lean horses and a jack, a sword, and personal arms. He is ill, and is married, with five small children and thirty servants, old and young. He signed it. ALONSO DE MORAGA (rubric).

Francisco González Bernal passed muster with only two horses, an harquebus belonging to the king, and a sword of his own. He is a widower, with his mother, a widowed sister-in-law, and five nieces of hers, and an Indian woman with three children, servants of his. They are extremely poor. He signed it. FRANCISCO GONZÁLEZ BERNAL (rubric).

Nicolás Lucero de Godoy passed muster on foot, naked, with an harquebus and sword belonging to his Majesty. He is married, with two small children, and is extremely poor. He signed it. NICOLÁS LUCERO (rubric).

Juan Pacheco passed muster with two lean horses, a sword of his own, and an harquebus belonging to his Majesty, having no other goods. He is married, with three small children and a female servant. He signed it. JUAN PACHECO (rubric).

Domingo de Herrera passed muster with a lean horse and an unbroken colt, and an harquebus, a sword, and a dagger belonging to his Majesty. The enemy killed his wife, seven children, his mother-in-law, and two brothers-in-law, eleven persons in all, and robbed his poor house in the pueblo of Los Taos. He asked that they sign for him, as he did not know how. At the request of Domingo de Herrera. FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric).

Captain Juan de Mondragón, more than eighty years of age, very old and extremely poor, passed muster on foot, naked, with twenty-four members of his family. He signed it. JUAN DE MONDRAGÓN (rubric).

Cristóbal Nieto passed muster with four lean beasts and an harquebus and sword of his own; he is exceedingly poor. He signed it. CRISTÓBAL NIETO.

Francisco Montoya passed muster with four horses and an harquebus of his own, a sword belonging to the king, and sixteen members of his family, consisting of his mother, brothers, nephews, and servants. He signed it. FRANCISCO MONTOYA (rubric).

Lorenzo Gutiérrez passed muster with a very lean and worn horse. He is married, with a small child, and is extremely poor. He signed it. LORENZO GUTIÉRREZ (rubric).

Tiburcio de Ortega passed muster with three lean horses and a full complement of personal arms. He is married, with a son and twenty other persons in his family—wife, one daughter, mother, brothers, nephews, and servants. He signed it. TIBURCIO DE ORTEGA (rubric).

Alonso Maese passed muster with a lean and maimed horse, a sword of his own, and an harquebus belonging to his Majesty. He is married, with fifteen persons in his family, including his mother, brothers, and children, all very poor. He has one son capable of bearing arms. He has lost everything; and he signed it. ALONSO MAESE (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Cristóbal Enríquez passed muster with a

horse and a mare, lean from work, and his personal arms. He is married, with a family of seven small children and nine servants. He signed it. CRISTÓBAL ENRÍQUEZ (rubric).

Adjutant Salvador Durán passed muster on foot with an harquebus belonging to his Majesty and nothing else. He is married, with a family of twelve persons, consisting of daughters and servants; they are extremely poor. He signed it. SALVADOR DURÁN (rubric).

Juan López Olgúin passed muster with two lean horses, an harquebus, and a sword; he is married, with one son and four servants. He signed it. JUAN LÓPEZ OLGUÍN (rubric).

Cristóbal Olgúin passed muster on foot, naked, without arms or anything except himself. He signed it. CRISTÓBAL OLGUÍN.

Alférez Francisco Lucero passed muster on foot with an harquebus, a sword, and a dagger, and a family of twenty-two persons—wife, children, and servants. He signed it. FRANCISCO LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric).

Thomás de Mestas and Juan de Mestas passed muster with only one horse belonging to the king, and a sword of their own, without anything else. They have a family of seven persons—mother, brothers, and nephews. Alcalde Juan Lucero signed for them. JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric).

Captain Pedro Márquez passed muster with six lean horses, his personal arms, his wife, two children, and six servants. He signed it. PEDRO MÁRQUEZ (rubric).

Antonio de Carbajal passed muster with two lean mares, a sword, an harquebus, his wife, mother, four small brothers, and two servants. He signed it. ANTONIO DE CARBAJAL (rubric).

Juan Griego passed muster with a lean horse and a mare, an harquebus belonging to his Majesty, and no other arms. He is unmarried, with seven persons—his mother, brothers, and another boy. He signed it. JUAN GRIEGO (rubric).

Miguel Morán, mestizo, passed muster on foot, naked, without arms, and with seven—correction, nine—persons in his family. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Simón de Molina passed muster on foot, with an harquebus

and trappings belonging to his Majesty. He is alone, with no family, and is one of those assigned¹ by his Majesty. He signed it. SIMÓN DE MOLINA (rubric).

Thomás García passed muster with a lean mare, without arms, and is exceedingly poor. He has a family of six persons—his wife, children, and grandchildren. He signed it. THOMÁS GARCÍA (rubric).

Bartolomé de Montoya passed muster on foot, naked, without any arms, and with a family of seven persons, including mother and brothers. He signed it. BARTOLOMÉ DE MONTOYA.

Angelina, a Mexican Indian woman, passed muster with a family of nine persons. She did not sign.

Magdalena García passed muster with eight persons. She did not sign.

Juan de Archuleta passed muster on foot, naked, and with a dagger belonging to his Majesty. He has a family of twelve persons—mother, brothers, uncles, and nephews. He did not sign.

Francisco de la Muerte, assigned,² passed muster on foot with trappings and an harquebus belonging to his Majesty, and a family of twenty-two persons. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Pedro Hidalgo passed muster with a lean horse, an harquebus belonging to his Majesty, and a sword of his own. He is married, with a family of eight persons. He signed it. PEDRO HIDALGO (rubric).

Salvador Zamoran passed muster with two very lean horses, and a sword and harquebus belonging to his Majesty; he is alone and very poor. He did not sign.

Miguel de Sosa passed muster with two lean horses and an harquebus and sword belonging to his Majesty. He is married, with a family of seven persons. He did not sign.

Alférez Juan Rodríguez de Cangas passed muster with two horse pistols, trappings, a leather jacket, and a shield. He has

1. This person was one of a number of convict soldiers assigned to New Mexico in 1677. See C. W. Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico*, vol. III, p. 317.

2. See the preceding note.

no family, and has one servant-boy. He was robbed by the enemy; and he signed it. JUAN DE CANGAS (rubric).

Adjutant Hernando de Ynojos passed muster with a horse, an harquebus, a sword, and a dagger belonging to his Majesty; and a family of five persons. He signed it. HERNANDO DE YNOJOS (rubric).

Agustín Griego, bachelor, passed muster with a horse belonging to the king, and a family of five persons, his mother and brothers. He did not sign.

Captain Felipe Romero passed muster on foot, with trappings and an harquebus belonging to the king, and four lean horses. He is married, with six sons, one of military age and the others small, and four grown daughters, as well as another girl. He signed it. FELIPE ROMERO (rubric).

Juan de Yllescas, assigned,¹ passed muster with a horse, trappings, and harquebus belonging to his Majesty; he is extremely poor and without a family. He signed it. JUAN DE YLLESCAS (rubric).

Domingo González passed muster on foot, with damaged harquebus and trappings belonging to his Majesty. He is a bachelor, with a family of seven persons—mother and brothers. He signed it. DOMINGO GONZÁLEZ (rubric).

Juan Griego passed muster on foot, naked, and barefoot, without clothing or arms; he is extremely poor, with a wife and child. He did not sign.

Adjutant Bartolomé Romero de Pedrasa passed muster with two lean horses and his personal arms; he is alone, without family. He signed it. BARTOLOMÉ ROMERO DE PEDRASA (rubric).

Ambrosio de Carbajal passed muster with two lean and saddle-galled horses, an harquebus, and a sword. He is a bachelor, with a family of mother, three grown sisters, and a female servant. He signed it. AMBROSIO DE CARBAJAL.

Alfárez Diego de Luna passed muster with five lean beasts and his personal arms; he is married, with three children and thirty other persons—mother-in-law, brothers-in-law, and servants. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Joseph Sánchez, convict, passed muster on foot and without

1. See note 1 on preceding page.

arms, because he has lost and broken those given him by his Majesty. He has no family and no one beside himself, and does not know how to sign.

Pedro de Madrid passed muster with a fat horse and only a sword and deerskin jacket. He is married, with five children. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Captain Francisco López passed muster on foot with sword, dagger, and harquebus; he is married and has three servants. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Captain Francisco de Anaya passed muster on foot with his personal arms. He was robbed by the enemy, who killed his wife and three other persons—children, relatives, and servants. Nothing remains to him except that stated above. He signed it. FRANCISCO DE ANAYA (rubric).

Captain Francisco Domínguez de Mendoza, blind, old, and very ill, passed muster with a family of five persons, extremely poor and without anything. Captain Francisco de Anaya signed for him. FRANCISCO DE ANAYA (rubric).

Joseph Domínguez passed muster with only himself, without equipment or arms or family, and he signed it. JOSEPH DOMÍNGUEZ (rubric).

Francisco Bernal passed muster on foot and without arms or anything else; he is extremely poor, a bachelor with a family of eight persons—mother, brothers, and nephews. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Juan Durán passed muster with a family of eleven persons, including brothers and small children, all extremely poor. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Doña Chatalina de Zamora passed muster with four grown nieces, Spaniards, all on foot and extremely poor, and five servants. The enemy killed two of her nephews and more than thirty relatives. She does not sign because of not knowing how.

Doña Inéz Luz, widow, passed muster on foot with two widowed daughters, whose husbands the enemy killed, and with four small grandchildren; she is extremely poor. She did not sign because of not knowing how.

Francisca de Abrega passed muster with eight children and

grandchildren, naked and on foot, and extremely poor. She did not sign because of not knowing how.

Captain Francisco Xavier passed muster with six lean beasts, and his personal arms. He is a widower with one child three or four years old; he was robbed by the enemy. He signed it. FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Bernabé Márquez passed muster with ten lean and tired horses and a full complement of personal arms. He is married, with six half-grown children, seven servants, and a brother-in-law who can serve his Majesty. He has lost everything; and he signed it. BERNABÉ MÁRQUEZ (rubric).

Captain Juan de Valencia passed muster with four ill-used horses and a full complement of personal arms. He is married, with six children, all grown, a widowed mother, and a family of forty-six persons, including grandchildren and servants. He signed it. JUAN DE VALENCIA (rubric).

Sebastián Sánchez de Nontoi passed muster on foot, naked, and pitifully poor. He is married, with a family of three persons. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Sargento Mayor Don Fernando Durán Chávez passed muster with six good beasts, a full complement of personal arms, a son and a servant. He was robbed of all his property and the enemy carried off or killed his wife, three children, twenty-eight servants, another woman, and a son of his. He signed it. DON FERNANDO DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ.

Captain Pedro de Sedillo passed muster with a beast, an harquebus, and a sword. He is married, with eight children, and he signed it. PEDRO DE SEDILLO (rubric).

Captain Esteban de Grazia passed muster for himself, a son, and two sons-in-law of military age, and he lists four horses. He has sword and harquebus, two daughters, two Indian servant-women and two servant-boys. He signed it. ESTEBAN LÓPEZ DE GRAZIA (rubric).

Joseph Xavier passed muster with a fat horse and a full complement of personal arms. He is married, with a small child and two servants. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Adjutant Sebastián González passed muster with three horses, a sword, a dagger, an harquebus, and all personal arms.

He is married, with a family of eight children and twelve servants. He signed it. SEBASTIÁN GONZÁLEZ (rubric).

Luis Martín, the younger, passed muster with only a horse and nothing else. He is married, with a family of five persons, and he did not sign because of not knowing how.

Eugenio Varela, bachelor, passed muster with four horses of his own, an harquebus belonging to his Majesty, his mother, and a family of five persons. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

[*Auto of Antonio de Otermín. Place opposite La Salineta, October 1, 1680.*]

In the said place opposite La Salineta on the banks of the Río del Norte, jurisdiction of New Mexico, on the first day of the month of October, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this said kingdom for his Majesty, states: That inasmuch as to-day makes the third day since there was made public in the plaza de armas of this camp an edict for counting and passing muster, which up to the present is not finished because of many of the people being scattered, they having gone without permission to the settlement of Guadalupe del Paso, failing to appear for the counting and passing muster; and inasmuch as it is necessary to conclude the *autos* in order to report to the most excellent señor, the viceroy, governor, and captain-general of New Spain, he ordered that a requisition be made to the lieutenant of the alcalde mayor of the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes to the effect that he shall not allow any of these persons in his jurisdiction on any pretext whatever without my permission, and that any one who may at present be there he shall order to report to me under the penalties which he may impose upon them. The said requisition being made, it shall be incorporated, along with the reply of the said alcalde mayor, in the said *autos*, so that it may be recorded. The listing of the persons who may appear shall proceed for the completion of what has been ordered. I so provided, ordered, and signed, before the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

[*Auto of Antonio de Otermín. Place of La Salineta, October 1, 1680.*]

Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and these provinces of New Mexico for his Majesty, etc.

As the result of the general uprising of the Christian Indians of this kingdom, they being convoked and confederated in their treason and aiming to destroy and put an end to everyone—as in fact they did take up arms, and made war simultaneously on all the jurisdictions of the kingdom, committing grave crimes of sacrilege, treason, atrocities, and robberies against the majesty of God and in disobedience to the royal person of his Majesty, even to the point of besieging the villa and casas reales where I was in order to destroy me and the persons who were with me in the place, those who had been able to join together and escape from their treachery being divided, as is apparent from the process drawn up—when the fighting ended after nine days, I set out marching through the jurisdictions of the kingdom, where I saw for myself the pueblos depopulated and the rebels moving about over the mesas and rugged country. Having overtaken the other Spaniards and families in the place which they call Fray Cristóbal, and all of them being joined and united, I published an *auto* so that there might be determined what was most conducive to the royal service of his Majesty in the reduction of the rebel apostates, as a result of which junta it was resolved—because of the serious lack of provisions and in order to safeguard the large number of families which were in the country, their horses being so worn out and all of them now out of the settled part of the kingdom and six leagues beyond its district—that we move to a better position and seek the necessary provisions, in order to be able to decide upon what was best, keeping in mind in everything the service of the two Majesties. Having halted in this post of La Salineta on the Río del Norte, where the people were assisted with meat and maize and other things, while this aid was being given, as appears in the *autos* formed, to which I refer, in order to inform myself as to the number of men bearing arms who were with my person in attendance upon the royal standard, and of the force of arms,

horses, and other munitions of war that were to be found in this army, and of their condition, as soon as the camp halted I published an edict to the effect that all classes of persons pass muster, and that the Spaniards manifest their arms and horses. This began immediately upon the publication of the edict, and to-day, the third day of the said proceedings, a large number still have not been listed because they have gone to the conversion of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, maliciously and without asking permission, causing loss of time and hindering everything else that must be determined and decided upon in the royal service, both for the said purpose and in order to conclude these *autos* and then make a report to the most excellent señor viceroy, governor, and captain-general of New Spain. For the above reasons and in order that what is desired may be concluded and accomplished, because the persons who are missing and have gone to another jurisdiction, by these presents, on behalf of his Majesty and in his royal name I exhort and require, and in my own I beg and charge the lieutenant of the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes who is now in the said conversion of Guadalupe del Paso, and any other justices who should and can, and who have authority delegated by the señor governor, Don Bartolomé de Estrada, knight of the military order of Señor Santiago, governor and captain-general of La Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, to cause to appear in this plaza de armas in my presence the persons of whatever state, quality, and condition who may be in that district and jurisdiction, because of its being so important a matter and one pertaining to the service of God and the king, imposing upon them the severe penalties which correspond to such excesses, because of their having gone without asking permission or without its having been known that they went. After being told and informed of this *auto*, no person is to be allowed to pass to the said jurisdiction without permission from me in writing, stating the purpose of his going, and he who goes in any other manner shall have his person placed under arrest. For compliance with the above, and without prejudice to the two jurisdictions of Vizcaya and New Mexico, I order Maestre de Campo Francisco Xavier, secretary of government and war, to go to the place and part where the said lieutenant of

Casas Grandes or other competent minister in this case may be, and notify him of this requisition, in virtue of which, and so that he may not lack authority, I empower him to appear in my name; and he will insert the reply of the said lieutenant of the alcalde mayor at the end of this *auto* and bring it to be incorporated in the proceedings. I so provided, ordered, and signed before the said secretary and the witnesses, who were Maestres de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo and Pedro de Leiva, and Sargento Mayor Diego Lucero de Godoy. Done in this place of La Salineta on the Río del Norte, jurisdiction of New Mexico, on October 1, 1680. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRANCISCO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO (rubric); PEDRO DE LEIVA (rubric); DIEGO LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric). By order of the señor governor and captain-general. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

[*Auto of Francisco Xavier. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso. October 1, 1680.*]

I, Francisco Xavier, secretary of government and war of the provinces of New Mexico, alcalde ordinario de primer voto of the villa of Santa Fe, testify in accordance with my legal obligation that I made known the requirement stated herein to the lieutenant of the alcalde mayor of this jurisdiction, José López de Gracia, in person, and that having heard it he said that as a minister of his Majesty and his vassal he acceded to a matter so important to his royal service, and would immediately comply with it, as the case demanded, so that the course of royal justice and his Majesty's service may not be obstructed. He signed it with the said secretary and the witnesses. Done in this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso on the first day of October, 1680. He asked and requested that the señor governor and captain-general, Don Antonio de Otermín, be pleased to order that he be given a certified copy of this writing in the usual form and manner, to which I attest. JOSEPH DE GRACIA (rubric). Witness, DIEGO LÓPEZ SAMBRANO (rubric); witness, DOMINGO LÓPEZ DE OCANTO (rubric); JUAN DEL RÍO (rubric); FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric), secretary.

The count continues, on October 2, 1680, in the said place [La Salineta].

Melchor de los Reyes, a Mexican Indian, married, passed muster on foot and without any arms; with a family of a wife and one child. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Catalina Bernal, widow, extremely poor, passed muster with a family of nine persons, children and grandchildren. She did not sign because of not knowing how.

Juan de Archuleta passed muster with a horse and harquebus belonging to his Majesty; he is married, with two children. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Juan de Dios, Mexican, passed muster on foot without any arms; he is married with three children, his mother, and two brothers. He did not know how to sign.

Antonio Jorje passed muster with two horses, an harquebus, and a sword. He is a bachelor with a family consisting of his mother and two servants. He signed it. ANTONIO JORJE (rubric).

Captain Hernando Martín Serrano passed muster on foot with harquebus and sword. He is more than eighty years old, with a family of nine persons—wife, children, grandchildren, and servants. He signed it. HERNANDO MARTÍN SERRANO (rubric).

Antonio de Sotomayor Montaña, convict, passed muster on foot with harquebus, sword, and dagger belonging to his Majesty. He is married and has a female servant, but no children. He did not know how to sign.

Captain Cristóbal Vaca passed muster with a horse and sword of his own, and a damaged harquebus belonging to his Majesty. He is married, with three grown sons, extremely poor and lacking everything; three daughters; and an Indian servant-woman. He signed it. CRISTÓBAL VACA (rubric).

Juan Chamico, Mexican Indian, passed muster with a horse and two jacks, no arms, and with twenty persons, including wife, children, grandchildren, and servants. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Agustín, Mexican Indian, passed muster on foot without any arms. He is married, with nine persons in his family including sons and daughters-in-law; he did not know how to sign.

Antonio Gómez passed muster on foot and without arms. He is an Indian of the Teguas nation; married, and with a family of seven persons, wife and children. He did not know how to sign.

Nicolás de los Angeles, Mexican, passed muster on foot and without any arms. He is a bachelor with a family of three brothers. He did not know how to sign.

Juan Miguel, Mexican, passed muster on foot and without any arms. He has a family of ten persons—wife, children, and relatives. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Pascual Cobos de la Parra, mestizo, passed muster on foot and without any arms, with a family of nine persons—wife, mother, brothers, and nephews. He did not know how to sign.

Mathias Luján, soldier, passed muster with two beasts, a sword, and an harquebus belonging to his Majesty. He has a family of eight persons, including wife, children, and brothers-in-law. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Antonio Luján, soldier, passed muster on foot, naked, extremely poor, and with a family of a wife and two children. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Pasqual Naranjo, mulatto, pitifully poor, passed muster on foot and without any arms, with a family of wife and six children. He did not know how to sign.

Alférez Cristóbal de Velasco, convict, passed muster with a horse and a mule of his own; an harquebus, sword, and dagger belonging to his Majesty; and a leather jacket and shield of his own. He is married, with one small child and two female servants. He signed it. CRISTÓBAL DE VELASCO (rubric).

Joseph de los Reyes, Mexican Indian, passed muster on foot and without any arms. He is married, with three children, and did not know how to sign.

Cristóbal de Trujillo, mestizo, passed muster with a mare, and without any arms. He has a family of a wife and twelve [other] persons. He did not know how to sign.

Ysabel de Archuleta, widow of Lucas de Gamboa, whom the Indians killed, passed muster with six small children, being extremely poor. She did not sign.

María Hernández, widow, passed muster with a family of four children. She did not sign.

Cristóbal de Apodaca, mestizo, passed muster on foot and naked, with a wife and two children. He did not know how to sign.

Mathias Francisco, Mexican Indian, passed muster on foot and naked, with seven persons, including his wife and children. He did not sign because of not knowing how.

Family of the señor governor, thirty persons in all, [including] servants, Spaniards, negroes, and Indians.

Family of the father guardián, thirty persons, attendants and servants.

Wherewith the said list and muster is ended for the present, no more people having appeared following the proceedings drawn up. So that it may be recorded, and so that he may proceed with the arrangements regarding arms, horses, stores, and persons who can serve his Majesty, as is provided by the edict published, his lordship orders that this be set down as a judicial proceeding, leaving the list open in case some other person should appear. He signed it before me, the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Of the Christian Indians who came with the army from the pueblos of La Isleta, Sevilleta, Alamillo, Socorro, and Senecú, women and men, old and young, three hundred and seventeen persons passed muster 317 (rubric).

On the third of October, Juan Sánchez Cabello passed muster on foot with harquebus, leather jacket, and sword belonging to his Majesty. He is married, with a family of six persons. He signed it. JUAN SÁNCHEZ CABELLO (rubric).

Auto de junta de guerra. [La Salineta, October 2, 1680.]

In this place of La Salineta on the Río del Norte, jurisdiction of the provinces of New Mexico, on the second day of the month of October, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this said kingdom for his Majesty, said: That, because of the general rebellion of the Christian Indians of the said New Mexico, he has drawn up a legal process in the

best form that he has been able, without omitting anything, beginning on the 9th day of August, on which the said Indians resorted to arms, committing their perfidies, treacheries, and desecrations to the point of setting fire to the temples, robbing and profaning the holy things, images, and valuables belonging to divine worship, robbing the haciendas of the Spaniards in general, sacking the houses, and always attempting to destroy everything. To escape from these ravages all the residents who could do so assembled in a body [on the lower river], others remaining with my person, besieged in the villa and casas reales, because the enemy had gained control of a district more than thirty leagues in extent in the center of the kingdom, in the pueblos, hills, and wheat fields, in such numbers as to prevent our being able to communicate with one another, as they did. They killed many soldiers, women, and children, Spaniards and others, all of which is apparent from the *autos*; and although we made great efforts to join together, it was never possible to do so because of the distance separating us and of the reasons given above. Whereupon, four soldiers having gone out by my orders, because of notices which we received of the rest of the people who had escaped, they overtook them in the place called Fray Cristóbal, where they halted and awaited me. On our finding ourselves all together I issued a proclamation to the effect that we take steps to determine what ought to be done in the royal service in order to bring back the said rebellious Indians to their former state, which could not be done [at that time] because of the great number of Spanish women and children and the many other people on foot who were in the one camp and in the other, and because we found ourselves without any provisions, and with the horses worn out from the march that had been made. For these reasons, and in order to safeguard the many families who were marching under the conditions that have been described and through the country of the heathen enemy of the Apache nation, it was decided in the said junta to move to a better position, seek provisions, and make a report to his Majesty. We having arrived at this place where there is more security from the heathen enemy, I went in person to see the very reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco de

Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office, visitador general of this holy custodia and ecclesiastical and secular procurador general of the kingdom, so that all the efforts and measures possible might be adopted in order to assist the people who were on the march. Going on ahead with twelve men in search of him, I found him in this said place with the succor which appears from the process and the judicial proceedings which were drawn up, including the quantities of maize and meat which I have stated, and the rest that is being prepared and that he has offered for the succor of this whole army. And inasmuch as all attention should be given to what is best for the service of God and of his Majesty and for the public welfare in the reduction, settlement, and quieting of the rebellious Indians, and for the good of the vassals of his Majesty who are now in these camps without provisions, far from their homes and robbed of their property, I caused all the people of this army to pass muster and be counted, in order to ascertain the number of Spaniards, arms, horses, and other necessary stores, and to see whether it may be possible to go back with them, doing this service to God and his Majesty, and restore the settlements of the said New Mexico, wholly or in part. There have been counted and have passed muster in the said review a hundred and fifty-five persons capable of bearing arms, including youths who are expert horsemen, and four hundred and seventy-one horses and mules; and there are munitions and provisions of meat and maize. The total number of persons present, counting Spaniards, children, servants, and all other classes, is one thousand nine hundred and forty-six, who can remain with some security with a troop of Spanish soldiers in this place or in another more convenient one in the jurisdiction or territory of the said New Mexico; and, some of the harquebuses being out of repair, they can be mended, cleaned, and made useful; and although some soldiers are without equipment of arms and horses, they can aid and assist one another in such an important matter in the service of the two Majesties, they being such good servants of his Majesty, deserving, noble, loyal, and zealous in the royal service, in imitation of their ancestors, the conquistadores and founders, following whose example those present have sustained

the holy faith and his Majesty's kingdom. For this reason and the rest that can be advanced on behalf of the royal and Catholic Majesty, and of his vassals, which we all are, I order that for the determination of so serious a matter a junta de guerra be held, which will be attended by the person of the said very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, by the reverend father definidores, and by the other religious who are here, together with all the members of the cabildo y regimiento, and the military officers, active and retired, and any other soldier who may give his opinion therein, it being a general junta, and all of them vassals of the king, our lord, whom God keep. Having discussed the matter and examined it, as should be done, with the attention which the case demands, they may decide what measures should be adopted. Everyone being thus consulted, they, as persons who will know how to regard and determine the matter, may give their opinions freely in writing, both in this *auto* and junta and separately, in accordance with what they believe to be to the service of God and of the king, and for the public welfare. The secretary of government and war will make this *auto* known in the said junta, so that with it may be inserted that which is determined upon by the persons in attendance, and all may be placed in the *autos* of the process, so that it may be finished and recorded. I so provided, ordered, and signed before the said secretary of the cabildo y regimiento. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). By order of his lordship. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

[*Opinions given in the junta de guerra. La Salineta, October 2, 1680.*]

Then immediately, on the said day, month, and year, there having congregated in this plaza de armas in the presence of the señor governor and captain-general the persons who are mentioned in this *auto*, as appears from their signatures, and they having discussed and conferred at length on the matter and the seriousness of it, for [obtaining] the best solution, as was desired, the very reverend father minister preacher, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, father of this holy custodia, commissary of the Holy Office, commissary visitador general and procurador general of

the two jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and secular, of this kingdom, said: That in this matter the principal points should be considered, chief among them being that of attending to the service of God and of the king as stated in the *auto* issued; that regarding this point of the better service of God and the king, it appears to him that if the señores of the junta—they being, like himself, most loyal vassals and servants of his Majesty (whom God keep)—find themselves with sufficient means, they should attempt to reduce and pacify these apostate Christians. As for whether or not they can be restored, it seems that on the basis of the muster that has been held, the most prudent and loyal vassals who are present in the junta will be able to make a decision, since his reverence has not the experience to judge what resources are necessary, this not being his profession; that so far as his reverence is concerned, he is ready to obey and assist with all the religious needed in the part or parts where they may be ordered by the señor governor and captain-general to go; and that because the necessities, hardships, and sufferings which this army has experienced on the march are patent and manifest—since most of them have lost at the hands of the enemy not only their property, but wives, children, or at least relatives, those who have escaped having maintained themselves with a very small number of cattle, and having arrived without any grain, the supply in this pueblo not being sufficient to maintain them, and it being eighty leagues to a place where it would be possible to make some effort to gather up [supplies]—impelled by the present emergency and having conferred with his defintorio and religious to seek some means of relieving such a great number [of people], and desiring to comply with his obligation as a vassal, he says that in case it should be decided that some troops shall return to New Mexico, he will succor them at once and immediately with the provisions needed, except clothing. And he says that for the aid of the señores soldiers who are without equipment, he will give twenty cuirasses which he has left, four dozen ordinary half-loop stirrups [*de medio lazo y comunes*], fifty bridles, as many hats, shoes for themselves and their wives, and two hundred varas of fine brabant linen for making them some shirts at once; and he will see that their

wives and families are assisted with what they need for sustenance, they being left together, because of the great importance to the service of God and of the king that the enemy be not allowed to increase his forces. He says further that, in case of not being able to do this—which point the gentlemen of the junta will discuss and judge according to their great experience and zeal and to whether or not the resources at their command are sufficient—whatever their decision may be, he [Father Ayeta] makes the following offer, on two conditions. His offer is that for the whole group he will supply daily ten head of beef cattle and eight fanegas of shelled maize; and the first condition is that for delivering both the cattle and the grain supervisors be named, or the posts and places where the people may be camped shall send by districts in whatever form they desire to the pueblo of El Paso for rations either for fifteen days or for a month, which will be delivered to the persons whom they may so appoint, to be distributed to the group. The other condition is that, because it is necessary to go many leagues to buy and conduct the provisions in the wagons, in order that this effort may not fail of its purpose, this junta shall deliberate upon and come to a decision as to whether or not it will accept this small assistance, which is not greater because of the limited means with which the said reverend father and his religious find themselves, so that the wagons may leave immediately before the supplies now being consumed are gone, for if the time passes it will not be possible to transport the said grain. As for the place or manner in which the families are to be accommodated, he has nothing to say, for neither is he informed on this matter. The period for which he will give the promised assistance is until the most excellent señor viceroy, in view of these *autos*, may provide the fitting remedy, assisting us or advising us as to what we are to do. He requests that he be given a certified copy of this opinion attested to in the usual form, for the safeguarding of his rights and of those of his religious. He signed it with his lordship, before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

The reverend father definidores, Fray Nicolás Hurtado, Fray

Tomás de Tobalina, and Fray Francisco Muñoz, who were present, said that they conformed to the opinion of our very reverend father visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, especially as to the conditions for the assistance, and that in everything else needful they concurred with the statements made in the said opinion. They signed it with his lordship before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRAY NICOLÁS HURTADO, definidor (rubric); FRAY TOMÁS DE TOBALINA, definidor (rubric); FRAY FRANCISCO MUÑOZ, definidor subrogado (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

The reverend father preacher, Fray Andrés Durán, definidor habitual of this holy custodia, said that, looking to the better service of both Majesties, renouncing self-love, as a minister who has served his Majesty in this ministry twenty years, and hearing the opinions of the Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta and of the reverend definitorio, and that expressed in the *auto* of the señor governor and captain-general accepting the assistance, he states that, it being examined and approved by the gentlemen of the junta, he believes it will be a very good thing to take steps to attract these loyal apostates into the fold of the church, and these vassals to his Majesty's crown. To this end, with zeal for God, and charity, and as a minister of his Majesty, he offers at once to lose his life if need be, in case the gentlemen of the junta should determine that it is possible to send one or more divisions of the army for their reduction. He said this with zeal for God, and said that no interest or temporal good moved him, for he was speaking only as a servant of the church and of the Catholic Majesty. This is his opinion, lacking a better one. He signed it with his lordship before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRAY ANDRÉS DURÁN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

The reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco Farfán, said that he had been summoned by these Indian apostates from the holy faith, with whom he had been communicating in his affliction, and seeing them now contrite for the atrocities they had committed, and taking counsel with one another, he was

petitioned to remain, for matters pertaining to their ministry, to which said ministry he was obligated, along with other religious. Therefore, he stated that from having seen the foregoing opinions and that of our very reverend father visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, whose succor will facilitate both the entry [of the troops] and the reduction of these said apostates to the holy Catholic faith, which is that which is attempted and which the said father desires, he obligates himself and always remains obligated to make the entry with those who may determine to go to the settled portion of the said New Mexico. He gave this as his opinion, and signed it with his lordship before me, the secretary. He said that he will always recognize it as a statement of his, to which he remains obligated, as well as to labor in these causes and in various others in the service of both Majesties; and that as a loyal vassal he will not retract what he has said. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRAY FRANCISCO FARFÁN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo, lieutenant general, said that having seen the *auto*, the propositions of the junta, and the opinions given, and being informed of them, he is of the conscientious belief that if the matter is looked upon as it should be it is seen that success is impossible. For, while one hundred and fifty-five soldiers have been recruited, forty of them have no horses, and a hundred are not provided with arms, and the horses which the army now has are lean and worn out, and winter is upon us in a land of severe cold; and to enter without the necessary and very adequate forces is to end by losing everything. Moreover, there are rumors in the conversion of Guadalupe that the Indians of Sonora are restless, and we do not feel very sure of the Mansos and Sumas who are here, so that still greater danger and loss must be averted. He believes that his Majesty should be given an account of everything and asked for the necessary assistance for a new form of conquest, which is what is needed, because the kingdom is now uninhabited and deserted, pending the receipt of orders from his Majesty, when we shall enter, subjecting all of it with force and authority. While the report

is being given to his Majesty, without prejudice to the jurisdiction which New Mexico claims, this army shall remain on a reserve footing in a suitable place where we can maintain ourselves with the succor promised. He gave this as his opinion and signed it with his lordship before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRANCISCO GÓMEZ ROBLEDÓ (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza said that, having attended to the proposal of his lordship's *auto* with the obligation of a vassal of his Majesty who desires to employ himself in his royal service, he speaks conscientiously. He has seen the opinion of the very reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office and procurador general of this kingdom, and that both the señor governor and captain-general and the said reverend father, attending unanimously and in agreement to the better service of both Majesties, held a general junta—the señor governor of all the maestres de campo and other soldiers of rank, and the said reverend father of his definitorio and other religious who are present—and that the said reverend father, having seen and understood the proposal of the señor governor and captain-general, along with his mandate, promised publicly and openly to furnish a gratuity [*ayuda de costa*] so that the royal service might be attended to. This is seen in writing, over his signature, to which I refer for details. I say that I find it convenient to accept the gratuity just as the said reverend father offers it, and that a report shall be made to the king, our lord, through his viceroy and real acuerdo of the city of Mexico; and that pending the arrival of the reply of his excellency and the real acuerdo there shall be made ready, with his lordship's approval, a division of soldiers as well equipped as possible, which shall be sent with their captain and officer to the province of New Mexico with orders and general and sufficient powers from his lordship to enter the said provinces and endeavor to capture some of the rebel Christian Indians. Having captured them, they will be treated well and sent as ambassadors to the rest of the rebels, so that they may tell them

of the good treatment they have received, and that the king, our lord, having considered their limited understanding, the señor governor pardons and absolves them in his royal name for all their atrocities. They will be told also that if they remain obedient to his Majesty, they will not be molested or harmed in any way, but rather will be protected in the royal name. Then, after all the measures necessary in such cases have been taken, if they still remain rebellious and tenacious in their ferocity and apostasy, they shall be overcome with fire and blood, if this be possible. He says that in order to be able to send the division of soldiers, this whole camp shall first be moved opposite La Toma del Río del Norte, in the jurisdiction of New Mexico, which is on the other side of the Río del Norte, and is a level place suitable for building huts and shelters for the families, where they can wait under military discipline until the decision and final order of his excellency shall arrive, his lordship being pleased to send him a full account of our poverty and of the robberies that the enemy have committed against us, so that, if his excellency shall see fit, he may send us succor in the royal name. Also, if he should see fit, he may send paid troops to be stationed in the provinces of New Mexico, garrisoning and maintaining order in them so that the holy gospel may be extended in all parts, venerated and respected by both the faithful and the heathen, this being the principal aim and care of the king, our lord, in which he has spent and is spending with a free hand all his royal income. He said that this is his opinion, with due respect for what may seem best to the señor governor. He signed it with his lordship before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); THOMÉ DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Maestre de Campo Juan Domínguez de Mendoza said that he concurs wholly in the opinion of Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza, adding that it would be well that the division of soldiers, if they should be sent, shall be adequately provided with arms and horses. This is his opinion, and he signed it with his lordship before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JUAN DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric).

Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Don Pedro Durán y Chávez, a man seventy years of age, said that having heard and considered the *auto* ordered promulgated by the señor governor and captain-general, who with such Christian zeal looks to the best service of both Majesties, he states that as for the proposal that men go from this camp to the provinces of New Mexico, it is not convenient, for the reasons that I shall give, in consideration of the better service of his Majesty and the preservation of the vassals who remain. These reasons are that this camp, which now is a hundred leagues from the kingdom, is exceedingly poor, destitute, and needy, without stores of arms or enough horses to be able to undertake the conquest of the kingdom of New Mexico, because of the fact that large numbers of Apaches are directing the Christian Indians. Thus the king, our lord (whom God keep many years), should give two hundred regularly paid troops, one hundred to garrison the kingdom and a hundred paid citizens sent and provisioned for its rehabilitation. For the suitable and adequate supply of cattle which the kingdom had for the support of its citizens was consumed, part of them being stolen by the enemy and the rest used in maintaining the families who came in retreat to this post, because of finding themselves defenseless and of recognizing that there was no fortification, place, or post in the whole kingdom where the king's vassals could make a stand. Thus it is conducive to the better service of both Majesties that, if your lordship pleases, an account be given to his Majesty, informing him of all these misfortunes and of many others which are apparent to your lordship and to the ministers; and informing him also that his Majesty's vassals are serving him at their cost and expense in these parts, in person, with arms and horses, and that to-day it is entirely impossible to undertake anything as serious as the conquest of a kingdom, when they are not even sure of subsistence unless the very reverend father visitador general, with his accustomed Christianity and the zeal which he has for the service of both Majesties, provides the assistance which he has promised. For my part, I accept it, in

order to be able to assist the señor governor and captain-general in guarding and protecting [these people] until his Majesty, whom God keep, may order and command us in accordance with his desires, to which we are always obedient. In this, my opinion, so that it may be apparent to his highness, through his viceroy and real acuerdo, I say that your lordship may make known to all the maestros de campo, sargentos mayores, active and retired, and to everyone in the kingdom who is present here, that if anyone has anything to add or to say in contradiction of the truth of this opinion, he may appear before your lordship, giving his reasons against mine, so that I may proceed to give arguments in support of them. He gave this as his opinion and signed it. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); PEDRO DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Don Fernando Durán y Chávez said that, having seen the opinion of Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza, he stated: "I conform to it as conducive to the service of both Majesties, and I am one of those who is equipped and ready to leave on a campaign." He signed it with his lordship before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FERNANDO DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Lorenzo de Madrid said that, having seen the opinion of Sargento Mayor Don Pedro de Chávez, he concurs in it, and that this is his opinion. He signed it with his lordship before the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); LORENZO MADRID (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Diego López said that his opinion is that we should go to New Mexico, and he accepts the assistance which our very reverend father commissary visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, gives, and he is ready and equipped with all arms and a horse. He says further that for supplying the hundred men who ought to go to New Mexico it is necessary, for a matter so important in the service of both Majesties, that there be brought together all the horses of this camp as well as of these jurisdictions of Los Mansos, as far as the mission which is on the Río de Janos, belonging both to the religious

and to other persons, so that, with these horses all together, those which are serviceable may be chosen. This is his opinion and he signed it with his lordship before the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); DIEGO LÓPEZ SAMBRANO (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Domingo López said: "I concur in the opinion of Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez, and if I am given equipment I am ready to go to New Mexico." This is his opinion and he signed it with his lordship before the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); DOMINGO LÓPEZ DE OCANTO (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana said that it is his opinion that there should go to New Mexico a hundred well-equipped soldiers, supplied with all arms and with four horses [each]. This is his opinion and he signed it with his lordship before the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric). [At the end:] With the *autos*, and his lordship signed it.

Captain Pedro Márquez, soldier of this army of the provinces of New Mexico, having heard and understood the *auto* which the señor governor and captain-general, Don Antonio de Otermín, ordered published, and having seen the opinions which they have given as a result of it, stated: That as for the proposal which the señor governor and captain-general made in the said *auto* that each one give his opinion in this junta de guerra as to whether or not it is well to send soldiers who will return to the provinces of New Mexico to make war, I say that my opinion is, with attention to the better service of both Majesties, that it is not well at present, until a report shall be made to the king, our lord, through his viceroy and real acuerdo, so that, his highness being pleased, he may send a number of paid soldiers, upon which basis it may be possible to gain, settle, and garrison the said kingdom, for its conservation and security. For the soldiers who are now in this place of El Paso del Río, a hundred leagues distant from the last

pueblo of New Mexico, are extremely poor, without a supply of arms and horses, burdened with all their families and children, and lack provisions. Thus, in order to be able to undertake the said journey, as well as to obtain supplies for the adequate maintenance of their families—the whole affair being, as it is, in the hands of the señor governor and captain-general—it is necessary to go in search of supplies under the present circumstances to the Tarahumara, which is eighty leagues from this place. It is my opinion, therefore, that it is not well to undertake the journey, for the reasons expressed and for many others that I might give, which seem to me to make it impossible. This is my opinion, and I beg and request your lordship to be pleased to order me given an authentic certified copy of it, as a safeguard of my rights. PEDRO MÁRQUEZ (rubric); ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric).

Captain Don Fernando Durán y Chávez, a soldier of this army of the provinces of New Mexico, having heard and understood the *auto* which the señor governor and captain-general, Don Antonio de Otermín, ordered promulgated, and having seen the opinions which have been given as a result of it, says: That as for the proposal which the señor governor and captain-general makes in the said *auto* that all shall give their opinions in this junta de guerra as to whether or not it is well to send soldiers back to the provinces of New Mexico, I state that, in the interest of his Majesty's service, my opinion is that if all the men have sufficient equipment and supplies to return, I am in favor of going back for the chastisement [of the Indians], with the stipulation that an adequate guard must be left here, because of the current rumor that the conspiracy of the Indians is spreading to this place, and on my being given some assistance, since I have come out dispossessed of all my goods. This is my opinion. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FERNANDO DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ. Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

[In the margin:] With the *autos*, and his lordship signed it.

Captain Joseph Téllez Jirón said that he conforms to the opinion of Sargento Mayor Don Pedro Chávez, and that if there

are enough horses the expedition should be made to the provinces of New Mexico. This is his opinion and he signed it with his lordship, before the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JOSEPH TÉLLEZ JIRÓN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Joseph Gallegos said that he agrees with the opinion of Sargento Mayor Don Pedro Chávez and that, giving him equipment, he will go to New Mexico. This is his opinion and he signed it with his lordship before the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JOSEPH GALLEGOS (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Antonio Gallegos said that he conforms to the above opinion as conducive to the service of both Majesties, and he signed it with his lordship, before the present secretary. ANTONIO GALLEGOS (rubric); ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Captain Luis Martín said that he concurs in the opinion of Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez, and that if they will give him equipment he will go to New Mexico, such being conducive to the service of both Majesties. He signed it with his lordship before the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); LUIS MARTÍN SERRANO (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Diego Lucero de Godoy said that, having heard the *auto* of his lordship in the junta which has been held, and the opinions given, and especially the proposal of the very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, he believes conscientiously that it is well to return to New Mexico, for which step he is now prepared, supplied with all arms and with horses, and ready for the service of those who may be enlisted by order of his lordship. He believes that it is well to accept the assistance offered, both for those who may go and for those who remain with the families; and that a suitable halting-place should be selected immediately, and the persons appointed who are to go to conduct the supply of provisions for the people who are to remain in these parts. What he has said he feels to be true, as a vassal of his Majesty. He signs it with his lordship

before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); DIEGO LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Alfárez Francisco Lucero said that he finds the opinion of Maestre de Campo Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza to be correct, and he believes conscientiously that that is what ought to be done, if there is enough equipment for it. The undersigned is ready with his person but he has nothing in the way of equipment. He signed it with his lordship before me, the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRANCISCO LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Sargento Mayor Sebastián de Herrera, having seen and understood the contents of the *auto*, the proposal and offer of the very reverend father preacher commissary visitador general, and the other opinions that have been given, for his part, as a vassal of his Majesty, renders the thanks due to the said reverend father, because this is a succor and gift of such importance on the present occasion, without which this army would have perished. He said that, as for the decision to go and reconnoiter the first settlements and the places where it might be possible to capture one or more Indians of the jurisdiction of the kingdom, in order to better inform ourselves of their present intentions, and of the state of some religious concerning whose fate we are in doubt at the present writing, in his opinion these purposes are justified, and should be carried out with a troop of soldiers, if there were no other inconveniences, as there are. With respect to the soldiers who would be made ready to go, an estimate should be made of the number of horses needed, and also of the provisions, arms, and other equipment necessary in order that the families who remain here during the said expedition may not perish or be obliged by necessity to desert and scatter. On making an estimate of the number of residents who remain here, it will be possible to deduce whether the eight fanegas of provisions and the cattle which the said reverend father offers are sufficient. He is also of the opinion that because we find ourselves at present so disabled in all respects, it should be ascertained whether lodgings can be built where it will be

possible to withstand the rigor of the impending winter, and where the many women and children can be sheltered while we go and return. Thus, on our giving an account to his Majesty as quickly as possible, explaining all these calamities to him, he, being so Catholic, may succor us with everything needed for a new conquest. For everyone has seen with his own eyes the ruin that the enemy has wrought, and knows that to-day we find ourselves in this country, destitute, robbed, weary, and without beasts, which are the chief instrument of defense and offense. The undersigned is one of the last who escaped from the enemy in the pueblo of Taos, the enemy already being in possession of all the haciendas, and the Spaniards and their families being destroyed. Among them he lost his wife, his mother-in-law, a brother-in-law, and his beasts. He escaped alone on horseback, defending himself for a distance of more than forty leagues, in company with another soldier. He believes that there are not sufficient forces at present to carry out the said decision. He did not sign because of not knowing how. His lordship signed it before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Maestre de Campo Alonso García, present lieutenant general of this kingdom in the jurisdictions of Río Abajo. I state that I am of the opinion that I find it impossible for us to be able to enter the kingdom, for the following reasons. First, because there are not more than thirty-six men in the whole army who have equipment, and these cannot enter alone because of their horses being so lean and ill-used that they could not make a journey of forty leagues with them. Second, we have just come out in retreat, destitute and on foot, and we still are suffering a thousand inconveniences, and a very cold winter is impending, without our having houses or huts in which to take shelter. Third, the thirty men alone are not sufficient to make the expedition, for the smallest number that could do so would be a hundred men with equipment, and these families must be safeguarded, for we do not know whether these Indians, in imitation of those of New Mexico, will do the same thing. I believe conscientiously that the best thing is to give an account to the

señor viceroy and the real acuerdo with all the speed and urgency possible so that he may succor this kingdom with everything necessary to make a new conquest. This will be most difficult to-day because the Indians understand the Castilian language and are very skilful horsemen, and have in their possession many firearms, swords, lances, daggers, and other arms which they themselves use, and they are in possession of all the horses, cattle, and haciendas of all the residents, and have joined and confederated with the heathen enemy of the Apache and other nations. Likewise, the arms which we now have are badly damaged and out of order as a result of the fighting that took place, and there is no way of repairing them. As for the succor that the very reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, commissary visitador and procurador general of this kingdom in the two jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and secular, offers, I say that I accept it and that he should be given due thanks, and should indicate to us a place where we can all be assembled together until the answer of the señor viceroy and real acuerdo arrives. This is his opinion, and what he conscientiously believes, and he signed it with his name. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); ALONSO GARCÍA (rubric).

All of us who sign here, having weighed all the circumstances, are of the same opinion as the maestre de campo and lieutenant general, Alonso García, and we sign it on the said day, month, and year, so that the señor governor and captain-general may make his decision. SEBASTIÁN DE HERRERA (rubric); CRISTÓBAL ENRÍQUEZ (rubric); FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); JUAN LUIS (rubric); JUAN LUIS (rubric); IGNACIO VACA (rubric); DIEGO DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric); ANTONIO LUCERO (rubric); ALONSO VARELA DE LOSADA (rubric); ANTONIO DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA (rubric); FELIPE SERNA; SEBASTIÁN GONZÁLEZ (rubric); JUAN DE VALENCIA (rubric); ESTEBAN LÓPEZ (rubric); FRANCISCO DE AGUILAR (rubric); PEDRO MARTÍNEZ (rubric); DOMINGO DE HERRERA (rubric); TOMÁS DE MESTAS (rubric); JOSEPH DURÁN Y CHÁVEZ (rubric); JOSEPH DE LEIVA NEVARES (rubric); CRISTÓBAL NIETO (rubric); DON FRANCISCO RASCÓN (rubric); PEDRO HIDALGO (rubric); CAPTAIN FRANCISCO LÓPEZ (rubric); José de

la Serna agrees with this opinion and does not sign because of not knowing how; SALVADOR SAMORANO (rubric); JUAN DE YLLESCAS (rubric); JOSEPH DE PADILLA VILLASEÑOR (rubric); PEDRO LÓPEZ (rubric); SEBASTIÁN GONZÁLEZ (rubric); NICOLÁS LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); FELIPE ROMERO (rubric); BERNABÉ MÁRQUEZ (rubric); AMBROSIO DE CARBAJAL.

[*Opinion of the Cabildo of Santa Fe. La Salineta, October 3, 1680.*]

Señor Governor and Captain-General: The alcaldes and regidores of the cabildo of the villa of Santa Fe, capital of the provinces of New Mexico, as well as the citizens of the said villa and of the rest of the kingdom who have escaped from the general revolt of the Christian Indians, and who find themselves to-day congregated and assembled in this plaza de armas of the place of La Salineta, by order of your lordship as our governor and captain-general, state: That having been informed of the *auto* which was published at your lordship's order in this plaza de armas, summoning a general junta of all the persons who are here, so that they may see the steps that have been taken with regard to the general uprising of the Christian Indians and the propositions of your lordship's *auto*, this cabildo, with zeal for the service of both Majesties and for the public welfare, in protecting and safeguarding his Majesty's vassals, regarding the matter with due attention and replying to all the proposals, says: First, that the convocation and plot of the said Indians seems to have been so secret that they perpetrated their treason generally in all the jurisdictions of the kingdom, as was seen, beginning on the night of August 9, when the said Indians took up their arms and, carried away by their indignation, killed religious, priests, Spaniards, and women, not sparing even innocent babes in arms; and as blind fiends of the devil, they set fire to the holy temples and images, mocking them with their dances and making trophies of the priestly vestments and other things belonging to divine worship. Their hatred and barbarous ferocity went to such extremes that in the pueblo of Sandia images of saints were found among excrement, two chalices were found concealed in a basket of manure, and there

was a carved crucifix with the paint and varnish taken off by lashes. There was also excrement at the place of the holy communion table at the main altar, and a sculptured image of Saint Francis with the arms hacked off; and all this was seen in one temple only, as we were marching out. The church of the villa was entirely consumed by fire before your lordship's eyes and those of this cabildo and of the people who were present in the siege to which the enemy subjected us. When they had us surrounded in the said casas reales, and fighting with them, because the said temple was not defended it caught fire and burned until it was consumed and entirely demolished, only the walls remaining. All this was in addition to the ravages and sacrileges that they committed in the other jurisdictions of thirty-four pueblos, and in the estancias and houses of the Spaniards of which the said New Mexico is composed, its settlements being so scattered and undefended that the people who are now in this army have escaped by a miracle. Here we have found that the prelate and the head of this church has lost eighteen clerical ministers and two lay religious, which make twenty-one. There have died besides more than three hundred and eighty Spaniards—men, women, and children—with some servants, among whom are seventy-three Spaniards of military age, all of whom have perished at the hands of the rebellious enemy, having been robbed of arms, haciendas, and everything they possessed. The same was done before your lordship's eyes, alike in the said villa, where they sacked our houses and set fire to them, and in the convents and estancias, for the truth of this is proved by what we saw for ourselves on the march which was made to leave the kingdom. We found the pueblos deserted, the convents and estancias sacked, and the horses, cattle, and other articles of our household goods on the mesas and in the roughest parts of the sierras, with the said enemy guarding all of it and verbally mocking and insulting us. There is no doubt that we should not have succeeded in making the said withdrawal if it had not been for divine assistance; for a troop of cavalry fighting off the enemy; and for some stray cattle that had escaped, and the ears of corn that were gathered in the cornfields in the country. This your lordship knows, you, like our-

selves, having lived for many days on roasted corn, without which we would no doubt have perished of hunger. The cabildo calls attention also to the affliction and care which we experienced on our way, watching over and guarding the royal standard and the many families during the siege and fighting which took place in the villa as well as along the road, which has lasted from the ninth day of August down to the present, the third of October. We have watched over the said families and the horses, and assisted at the headquarters of the royal standard and at many other tasks that have come up, keeping horses saddled and armed day and night. They have become lean from service and have been unfit for use for many days, so that many of them have died; and we find ourselves worn out from fatigue, hunger, and lack of sleep, from which some persons are becoming ill. In consideration of this, and in view of the inconveniences and general necessity which is now felt, as is self-evident, by all the loyal vassals of his Majesty who are in this army, wholly obedient, before your lordship's eyes; and in view of the list and muster which has been held, regarding all this with due attention it is found that there are no more than thirty-six men equipped with personal arms, except for suits of armor, and none has more than eight beasts for himself, and these are in the state described above. The rest of the hundred and fifty-five men who passed muster are unfit for anything, naked, on foot, and without any arms. There are also seventy more men, who are youths living with their families. The remainder of the said number of one hundred and fifty-five are men who at most have three lean horses apiece and here and there an harquebus or sword; most of them are on foot with harquebuses which are broken and useless, without leather jackets or the necessary military stores. It appears to this cabildo, replying with due attention to your lordship's *auto*, in which you say that it would be well to return to settle the jurisdiction of New Mexico, wholly or in part, that this is impossible unless his Majesty, whom God keep, with his greatness and Catholic heart, patronizes this cause with the necessary support, an account of everything needful being given to the most excellent señor viceroy, governor, and captain-general of New Spain and

to its highness, the real acuerdo, to the señor fiscal of his Majesty, and to those who by right can and ought to know about the matter, so that in such a case, they supplying the means needed, there may be made a new conquest of the rebellious apostates. To-day, after eighty-odd years of communication with the Spaniards, many of them are intelligent, are skilful on horseback, and able to manage firearms as well as any Spaniard; and they have a knowledge of all the territory of the kingdom and many of them are familiar with all New Spain from Vera Cruz to Sonora. The total number of natives now in New Mexico, of the rebel apostates, is not small, for it will exceed sixteen thousand souls, not counting the heathen nations friendly to and in communication with them, who are so numerous that no estimate of their numbers can be made, because they entirely surround New Mexico and in parts extend more than two hundred leagues from the villa of Santa Fe. It must be understood that while they alone took such a resolution and were bold enough to rebel against the whole kingdom, as they attempted to do, only the people who now find themselves with your lordship having escaped, it is evident that they must likewise be rebellious against anyone who may return to the said kingdom, and that they will have allied themselves with and joined the said heathen Apaches, fortifying themselves in the pueblos and in the most suitable estancias, to prevent our returning and making settlements. This is a matter that should be regarded with the maturity and attention that the case demands, for if it is attempted and not done it gives them further cause to mock and scoff, to kill those who may enter, and to take away their arms and horses; to increase the boldness and forces of the enemy, and to weaken further the people who are now in this camp on the occasions which may arise for serving his Majesty in the execution of his royal orders, in which all of us are prompt. Now, in the month of October, we are in this place, where also there is no security either from the heathen Apache enemy or, according to current rumors, from the Indians of these new conversions and those of Sonora and other parts, among whom there is a general conspiracy to rebel. It is known to your lordship and to all the people who were in

the siege that while we were fighting with the rebels they said repeatedly that no one in the whole kingdom would escape with his life, because he who should escape would be killed in the conversions of the Mansos, because of their being already notified of and parties to the conspiracy. Perhaps their not having done so would be because of seeing the force we have, which would prevent their succeeding. The families whom we are bringing will perforce remain in this territory and jurisdiction, as is ordered by your lordship's *auto*; and, as stated, winter is upon us, when nothing can be done because of the severe climate in these parts, with intolerable cold, snow, ice, and a lack of protection from which, even during profound peace, the cattle and horses would die and be destroyed, freezing in the open country. There are in this camp to-day very old persons and some who are ill, and women with new-born children, without any place to live or any shelter from the inclemencies of the weather, all of which is a matter of common knowledge. In consideration of all the above, and seeing that the matter should be attended to diligently, and because of that which is proposed being impossible without help from his Majesty, whom God keep, this cabildo in his royal name—and notwithstanding any other opinion that it might have given in different places and times during the period of days that has elapsed—petitions and requests that your lordship give attention to its proposal, which is practicable and conducive to the service of the two Majesties; and above all that the report be sent as has been requested, with the speed which the emergency demands, which is unprecedented. For although it is true that on various occasions the rebel Indians of New Mexico have attempted uprisings and disobedience, it has been in individual pueblos and nations—as did the Zuñis in the Peñol de Caquima, the Queres in the Peñol de Acoma, and the Taos in their pueblo—and on being met with chastisement, they were reduced and returned to obedience. In other conspiracies which the Jemez Indians have attempted they have seen the light and, the aggressors being punished, the discord has subsided. To-day the contrary has happened, because in a time of the greatest quiet and tranquillity in the kingdom, all of them in general rebelled on one

day and at one hour, and it was by a miracle of God that they did not destroy everything, as was their intention. Our return to the kingdom must be in the form of a conquest with men, arms, and supplies to safeguard and garrison it as it is reduced to the yoke of the holy gospel and obedience to the Catholic Majesty, so that they [the Indians] may be subjected and their allies intimidated by the authority and arms of his Majesty. This proposal being admitted, it still does not prevent the adoption of any other that may be advanced or anything your lordship may dispose, to which this cabildo will conform as vassals of his Majesty and as his representatives. There should be accepted the gift and donation which was offered upon his arrival by the very reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, father of this holy custodia, commissary of the Holy Office, visitador and procurador general of his holy Order and of this kingdom, who with his reverend definitorio has made the proposal in the said junta, doing this service to his Majesty, which should be accepted and thanks extended to him. By virtue of it there may be obtained lodgings and security for the vassals of his Majesty and their families and for their arms and horses, your lordship naming persons to take charge of the things that have to be arranged and for supervisors of the supplies offered. They should be distributed with due attention and moderation, and his reverence should be notified of the persons named and of the acceptance of the gift, since he asked to be so notified. Let him also be informed as to whether or not it is sufficient, so that it may be clear to him, and so that, as one who does this particular service, he will do as much as he can in the matter. If he should request legal certificates with regard to the donation, let them be given him for his greater honor and that of his holy Order. This being done, let him be asked that in whatever part and place we may make a halt and establish a frontier, pending his Majesty's decision, there may be assembled the reverend father definidores, the guardián of the villa and of La Isleta, and such others as may be suitable, as vassals and ministers of his Majesty in these parts, and because of the knowledge and experience which they have after ministering here for so long a time. For this purpose, alike on

behalf of your lordship and of this cabildo, a report may be made to the said reverend father. Let there be done and executed in everything that which your lordship shall order, which will be the best. It [the cabildo] gave this as its opinion, and it asks for a certified copy in the usual form of all of it. They signed it with their names in this plaza de armas on the third day of the month of October of the said year, before the clerk of the cabildo. FRANCISCO XAVIER, alcalde ordinario (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY, alcalde ordinario (rubric); GREGORIO DE VALDÉS, alguacil mayor; LUIS GRANILLO, procurador general (rubric); ALONSO DEL RÍO, regidor (rubric). By order of the cabildo justicia y regimiento. BACHILLER FRANCISCO DE VELASCO, clerk of the cabildo (rubric).

[In the margin:] Presented; and his lordship ordered that it be placed with the *autos* and opinions, and he signed it with his rubric (rubric).

[*Petition of Luis Granillo. La Salineta, October 5, 1680.*]

Señor Governor and Captain-General: In the place of La Salineta on the 5th day of the month of October, 1680, the procurador general presented the following before the señor governor and captain-general, and it was received.

I, Sargento Mayor Luis Granillo, regidor and procurador general, in the name and on behalf of all the citizens who came out of New Mexico in retreat, appear before your lordship according to due form of law and state: That by order of your lordship there was published a decree to the effect that we should halt, selecting a site within the said jurisdiction, and in view of the fact that there is no suitable or convenient place in the said jurisdiction where such a large number of persons as are found to-day in these two camps can stop, nor any security, because of both Siete Ríos and Los Organos being on the frontier of the enemy, and because many serious inconveniences would follow [such an action], I therefore petition and supplicate your lordship, as such procurador general of the provinces of New Mexico and of its said citizens, to be pleased, in view of the aforesaid, that these two camps, joining together, remove from where they are at present and go and settle down in the

conversions which they call those of Guadalupe, on the other side of the Río del Norte, a very desirable place with pastures and firewood, where the poor people may build huts and cabins in which they can take refuge from the rigors of the impending winter. Such an action on your lordship's part will be well received, and will be to the advantage of his Majesty's vassals, who are so needy and so far from all human aid. I pray for justice in the name of those whom I represent, and implore the royal protection from your lordship, as is necessary, etc. LUIS GRANILLO, procurador general (rubric).

The above being seen by his lordship, he said that he received it in due legal form and would act in accordance with the petition. His lordship signed it before me, the secretary of government and war, on the said day, month, and year, and directed that this petition be placed with the *autos*. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Order of the governor and captain-general of El Parral. [San Joseph del Parral, September 24, 1680.]

General Don Bartolomé de Estrada Ramírez, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and the provinces of La Nueva Vizcaya for the king, our lord, etc. It has happened that in the provinces and kingdom of New Mexico the hostile Indians, rebelling against the royal crown, confederated with the friendly nations who were at peace, have revolted, and laid waste and destroyed many pueblos, and have killed the religious teachers and many other citizens and persons. The governor and captain-general, who is Don Antonio de Otermín, having escaped miraculously, is retreating with the people who survive and some of the friendly Indians to the place that seems best to him, maintaining a defensive and offensive position against the enemy in the form of a plaza de armas. He has made a report by couriers of all this to the most excellent señor viceroy of New Spain so that, as the person concerned, he may order what is most fitting. Now I have been informed on behalf of the said governor that he fears that after what has happened the said citizens and inhabit-

ants of the said kingdom will attempt to continue their retreat and come out into this one, in the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes, Carretas, Sonora, and other parts, from which will follow the total ruin [of New Mexico], and he therefore asks that I be pleased not to permit it. In view of his being wholly justified, and of our obligation to coöperate in the present case, it being greatly to the service of his Majesty, by these presents I order and command Captain Andrés López de Gracia, alcalde mayor of the Valle de San Antonio de Casas Grandes, and in his absence or disability, Captain Alonso Pérez Granillo, alcalde mayor of the jurisdiction of Carretas and Janos, that as soon as he may receive this order he go personally to El Paso del Río del Norte, in the jurisdiction of this government and near the border of the other, and that he not consent or permit that in any manner, or for any cause, reasons, pretext, order, or excuse whatever, any person of whatever state, quality, or condition he may be, pass from the said kingdom of New Mexico to this one or any part of its jurisdiction, except by permission and order of their governor, with whom they should remain until the most excellent señor viceroy shall decide and order otherwise. I hereby immediately impose upon such persons the penalty of death and of treason to the king, requiring that it be executed inviolably on those who disobey, and so that they may be informed of it and that it may be brought to their attention, I direct that the said alcalde mayor have this order proclaimed in the said El Paso and leave there a lieutenant to enforce it. In case the transgressors persist and repeat their offense, they will arrest them and send them to me for punishment in accordance with the said penalty. I likewise order the said alcalde mayor not to admit any of the abovesaid persons to the registry of sitios or lands, and if any of them shall have done so, I annul and withdraw it, for, aside from the present case, the issuing of them belongs to me and to none of my alcaldes mayores. He will comply with both orders exactly, under penalty of a thousand pesos in reales, to which I condemn the said alcalde mayor and any other justice who may fail in the observance of the abovesaid, half to go to the real cámara of his Majesty and half to this kingdom. So that the above may be

understood by the *alcaldes mayores* and justices of the provinces of Sonora, Carretas, Jentiles, and wherever it is applicable, and so that each one may comply with it in his jurisdiction under the penalty stated, in order not to admit or receive any of the said citizens, inhabitants of New Mexico, or admit them to the said registries, I direct that the present clerk, retaining this order in the archive of *gobierno* so that it may be permanently recorded, make the necessary copies and send them to the said *alcaldes mayores*, each of whom will give me a report of what he may do concerning it, for such is conducive to the service of his Majesty and the administration of his royal justice. Given in this real y minas of San Joseph del Parral on September 24, 1680. DON BARTOLOMÉ DE ESTRADA. By order of the señor governor and captain-general. MIGUEL DE ARANDA, royal clerk.

[*Publication of the order. El Paso, October 5, 1680.*]

In the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, jurisdiction of La Nueva Vizcaya, on the 5th day of the month of October, 1680, I, Joseph López de Gracia, lieutenant of the *alcalde mayor* of the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes, in obedience to the order of Señor General Don Bartolomé de Estrada, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of La Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, complying with and giving entire obedience to the order and mandate of his lordship, caused a war drum to be beat and at the sound of it many people assembled, alike from this pueblo and from the provinces of New Mexico; and in the presence of a large concourse the crier in a loud and intelligible voice made public the order herein contained, all those present having heard and understood it. So that this may be recorded I order it set down as an *auto* and judicial proceeding, to which I attest as juez receptor, and I sign it with my name with two assisting witnesses, who were Nicolás Ruiz and Felipe de Santiago, who signed it with me. Done in the said conversion on the said day, month, and year. JOSEPH LÓPEZ DE GRACIA, juez receptor. Witness, NICOLÁS RUIZ; witness, FELIPE DE SANTIAGO.

[*Certification of Francisco Xavier. El Paso, October 5, 1680.*]

It agrees with the original order from which I, Francisco Xavier, secretary of government and war, made a literal copy by order of the señor governor and captain-general. I delivered the original to the lieutenant of the alcalde mayor, Joseph de Gracia, to which I attest. There were present at the comparison of the copies Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana and Bachiller Francisco de Velasco, who signed it with me on the said day, month, and year. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric); witness, LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric); witness, BACHILLER FRANCISCO DE VELASCO (rubric).

[*Auto of Antonio de Otermín. La Salineta, October 5, 1680.*]

In the said place of La Salineta on the said 5th day of the month of October, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico for his Majesty, said: That in view of the general junta which he has held with the cabildo y regimiento, military officers, and soldiers, with the attendance of the reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, visitador and procurador general of this holy custodia and kingdom, the said junta being now ended; and because his lordship has received two letters from Sonora, one from General Don Francisco de Agramont, a person who served for some time in the real of El Parral as assessor and alcalde mayor and afterwards was *ad interim* governor of Nueva Vizcaya, with great experience and knowledge of the Indians of the said kingdom, and the other from Sargento Mayor Juan Baptista de Escorza, resident of the said provinces, due to the suspicions [concerning the Indians] expressed in the said letters, since both treat of the matter, so that they may be recorded and also made known to his excellency, the most excellent señor viceroy and captain-general of New Spain, I order that the originals of the said two letters be placed in these *autos*. This being done, all of them are to be taken to him, so that upon seeing the opinions of the said junta, he may resolve upon what is most effective and convenient in the service of both Majesties, and for the public welfare. I so provided, ordered, and signed, before the secretary of government and

war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

[*Francisco de Agramonte y Arce to Antonio de Otermin. San Juan, September 16, 1680.*]

My friend and dear Sir: In the Real de San Juan Baptista de Sonora we received yesterday, the 15th of the current month, the lamentable news of the rebellion in that kingdom, and in such sad circumstances God, our Lord, was pleased to console me with the word that your lordship had escaped, although wounded, and that my reverend friend, Father Francisco de Ayeta, who was in El Paso, entered to assist those who were coming in retreat, with eighty harquebusiers and some provisions. I nevertheless am still fearful that the enemy may have obstructed their passage, and now that through my ill fortune I have not been, nor have been able to be, of any use, finding myself so distant and having learned of it so late, I have endeavored that through sacrifices and prayers God, our Lord, may be appeased, and I shall continue in this endeavor until His Majesty may grant that better news shall reach us. What is important now is that your honor shall remember that God sends trials and hardships to the chosen ones, availing yourself of knowledge and prudence to display bravery of spirit, and recalling that gallant hearts are for adversity. It seems to me that it will be well to form a plaza de armas in that post of El Paso, and that the reverend father Fray Francisco leave for Mexico in person to represent the matter to the señor viceroy; and if the latter should be newly arrived, it will be a very good thing if the señor archbishop should undertake this business and explain to the señor viceroy with all clearness and resolution that unless the entrance is made on the footing of an army formed of at least three hundred men under full military discipline (who would make a stand at Santa Fe and fortify themselves, from where they could go to reduce and chastise the Indians, carrying out all the operations that the present and future circumstances may demand), not only will there be the present damage to bewail, but the loss of this whole kingdom of La Vizcaya is threatened. For the Janos, Yumas, and other

nations here and those who border upon them are all of the same persuasion or perhaps even worse. Seeing that they [the Indians of New Mexico] have succeeded with this, I have no doubt that they will all do the same, especially when there is much less defense here than there was there, for, to speak frankly, our maintaining ourselves depends only on the providence and mercy of God, because of human means there are none; rather, everything is unfavorable to our being able to conserve it. Our sins are many, and on another occasion I will speak my mind more freely and tell what I have thought about this matter.

As I have written to your honor, I came down to this province to see my brother take priestly orders, and I am consoled because I have believed that God, our Lord, was served by this action. I am making every effort to set off to take my household to Mexico, and shall do so, with God's help, by the month of January, let there be lost what there may, because I have the firm intention of seeking a quiet corner in which to lead a private life, looking only to the final end for which we were created. Meanwhile, I beg your honor to inform me of all that has happened, and if I can be of any use to advise and command me, who will carry out the orders that you may give me with all my heart. God keep your honor many years, protect you, and grant that I may see you. San Juan, September 16, 1680. Your honor's faithful friend and affectionate servant kisses your hands, FRANCISCO DE AGRAMONTE Y ARCE (rubric).

Say to the reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, that he may receive this as his own, and command me. Señor Don Antonio de Otermín, my friend and master.

[In the margin:] Because of what this letter contains regarding the supposition of a general rebellion of the heathen Indians of various jurisdictions, I order that it be placed with the *autos* for the information of the most excellent señor viceroy and captain-general of New Spain, etc. (Rubric.)

[On the reverse side: San] Juan. Agremonte. September 16, 1680.

[*Juan Baptista de Escorsa to Antonio de Otermin. San Juan, September 17, 1680.*]

I write these lines with a heavy heart because of the grief that the disastrous event in that kingdom has caused me. It certainly is a matter unprecedented in this New Spain and perhaps in other provinces as well. But considering the result, I find rather that we ought to be giving thanks to the divine Majesty for His great mercy in permitting that the damage was no greater, since I have always thought that it is not to be humanly expected that, those barbarians being disposed to such an atrocious act, any man should have escaped. I learned of this event in my house on September 10 from the inclosed paper, which came into my hands quite by accident. I at once mounted my horse and came to this camp, where I found not the least notice of it, but rather that there has been some destruction in Los Rincones. I sent to all parts, as Santa María, Guasavas, and Teorichachí, whereby on the 15th of this month, in the evening, we succeeded in seeing the dispatches which were written from El Paso and Casas Grandes, and among them a letter from the reverend father custodian, Ayeta, to Andrés. Whereupon, in the midst of my tribulation I had the very great relief of learning that your honor had escaped, although wounded, as had also some religious and many citizens, who are returning, for which we owe infinite thanks to God who knows how to chastise us so mercifully, since it appeared an impossible thing for any man in the whole kingdom to have escaped. Yesterday I received another letter from your honor by the hand of one Pedro de la Rossa, and it seems from it, after seeing the condition of things there, that your honor had foretold the event. Now, my friend, there is nothing to do except to be of good spirit and strong courage, which God, our Lord, values in His subjects; and for great calamities He chooses great hearts. Job owed to Him human aggrandizement and divine glory, and more for the calamities and hardships than for the grandeurs and prosperity that He gave him before or afterward. Your honor may console yourself much for being so remembered by the divine Majesty, and should not be dismayed regarding worldly things, for you have friends, and I hold your honor in the place of my very dear

brother. Thus whenever there shall be opportunity, I expect your honor in your house at the mines of Nacatovorí. At present the haciendas are not in operation due to difficulties with the timbers, each one of which costs me almost its weight in silver, but throughout this year they will be. As for obligations, I am up to the ears, for I have spent more than 25,000 pesos. Don Pedro, who came with his wife, lives six leagues from me in a house and irrigated farm belonging to me, a very pleasant place, where I made ready for the journey. Although I am much troubled, I have equally great expectations from the pleasure it will be to me when your honor shall come to this, your house, where I shall continue to make arrangements for your honor's pleasure and recreation. I do not write at more length, or to the very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, because those who are going as far as Carretas give me no opportunity to do so. I shall be obliged if your honor will make my excuses to him and consider this letter for him also. Yesterday I sent a messenger to my house which is twenty-five leagues away, for the probe, which I will send. I commend myself to all the afflicted ones, and to Father Fray Juan Alvarez who will be so for everyone. My master and friend, Don Francisco Agramont, with whom I am lodging, is writing to your honor that he is much grieved over the calamity. I have done what I could to relieve those who are there, but I could do nothing. Here come in the predictions I have made of the destruction of this kingdom and that which I wrote to Don Isidro, a copy of which I shall send to Father Ayeta, for Andrés did not give him another that I sent him. If I had been free I would already have been there with your honors to conquer anew those sacrilegious ones, and by means of my vote and the knowledge I have of the aid which the presidio of Sinaloa can give to that kingdom we should have seen one another many days ago, for from where I am stopping writing this, to Senecú, I dare say I could go, without hastening like the courier, in seven days, by way of Teorichachí. Enough of these discourses, for we can do nothing about them; if we could, the kingdom would be very quickly restored with exemplary punishments [of the Indians]. Farewell, my friend, brother, and master. May God keep you many

years. San Juan, September 17, 1680. JUAN BAPTISTA DE ESCORSA (rubric).

San Juan, September 15 [?], 1680. Juan Baptista Escorsa. Reply.

[*Auto of Antonio de Otermín. La Salineta, October 6, 1680.*]

In the said place of La Salineta on the 6th day of the month of October, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of the provinces of New Mexico for his Majesty, said: That he has seen and examined the result of the general muster which was held; and the opinions which have been given in the junta general de guerra that was convened, as shown by the *autos*, and especially the proposal of the cabildo justicia y regimiento, with the reasons upon which it is based, which are matters of public knowledge; and the rumors which are current of the wicked intentions of the many nations of heathen Indians and others who are being ministered to; and the two letters which he has received from the province of Sonora. Added to these are many other causes and reasons, namely, the uselessness of the horses; and the season of the year, it now being the month of October; and the fact that the people are complaining in this camp, not having any manner of shelter or lodgings, which it is necessary to make although it may be in dugouts, estufas, or huts; and the lack of men and arms, and other conditions which make it impossible to carry out any action whatever. In view of these things and by virtue of the succor which the reverend father visitador general has given to all the people and of the obligation which he has charitably assumed to supply meat and maize, so that the people who have escaped with their lives may halt and may not be divided until his Majesty sends us aid or determines what is best in his royal service—for these reasons, conforming to the said opinion of the cabildo and of other persons of practical experience, I order that the reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, be notified of the proposal of the cabildo, and of the fact that they have named as purveyors and administrators of the rations the alcalde ordinario, Juan Lucero de Godoy, and Sargento Mayor Diego López, and that his reverence be duly thanked for the much

good that he has done. If he should request some instruments so that it may be apparent to his Majesty, let them be dispatched in the usual legal form, and the *autos* be compared, and let a report be sent as quickly as possible, as the case demands. I so provided, ordered, and signed before the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). By order of his lordship. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

[*Auto of Fray Francisco de Ayeta. La Salineta, October 6, 1680.*]

Then immediately on the said day, month, and year, in virtue of the above *auto* of his lordship and at the petition of the cabildo justicia y regimiento, with due attention and care for his Majesty's business in the succor and maintenance of his vassals who to-day are in this plaza de armas, the proposals and request were made known to the very reverend father visitador and procurador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, father of this holy custodia and commissary of the Holy Office. He having heard and understood it, his reverence, full of his accustomed charity, with pious heart and zealous for the better service of both Majesties, said: That he offered immediately as a second relief two more fanegas of maize each day, in addition to the eight which he had assigned, which make ten; and that besides the provisions and meat which were included in the manifest, since the day on which he began to aid the people he has bought and paid for another six hundred fanegas of maize, and the wagons are prepared to leave on the 18th of this month to go and purchase and transport all that can be found, so that there may not be a shortage. He said also that to-day he has bought and paid for in the jurisdiction of the Casas Grandes 1,640 head of beef cattle, and besides has taken steps to obtain them from other places and in greater abundance for the relief of their needs. Furthermore, in addition to what he has given, he asks the señor governor and cabildo, with all affection and good will, to send word to all the people that those who are in greatest need shall apply to his reverence so that he may assist them with whatever he has in the way of clothing and shelter, and that they may be informed that there will be sent to them from El

Parral and its vicinity as large quantities of wool as possible so that they may make use of it and will be more comfortable in this country. And he begs everyone in general, for the love of God, to bear patiently the hardships and inconveniences of these cold regions until the most excellent señor viceroy, with his foresight, Catholic zeal, and great charity, may succor them, as he has done in so far as he was able throughout his government. He says that for his part he henceforth awaits their coming for whatever he may have left, reserving nothing except the sacred habit which he wears, like our father, Saint Francis. Thus his reverence replied, for which they again gave him repeated thanks, and he signed it with the two *alcaldes ordinarios*. FRAY FRANCISCO AYETA, commissary visitador (rubric); FRANCISCO XAVIER, *alcalde ordinario* (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY, *alcalde ordinario* (rubric).

[*Auto of Antonio de Otermín. Paraje del Río del Norte, October 9, 1680.*]

In this plaza de armas and Paraje del Río del Norte de la Toma, on the 9th day of the month of October, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico for his Majesty, said: That he has drawn up and verified to the best of his ability these *autos* concerning the rebellion, disobedience, and many forms of crimes which the Christian Indian inhabitants have committed. They had been reduced for more than eighty years of settlement to holy baptism and obedience to his Majesty, and wholly renouncing it—in their security as such vassals and under treason, and with entire secrecy, being convoked, allied, and confederated, the most intelligent and favored of them acting as moving spirits and guides—in a single day and hour they broke away from everything, renouncing their obligation as Christians and vassals of his Majesty, and waging war generally throughout the kingdom. There, with barbarous ferocity, they killed twenty-one religious, among them the custodian, head of this church, eighteen clerical ministers and two lay brothers. They profaned the holy temples, burning them and the images from their altars, mocking at the things belonging to divine

worship, wearing the priestly vestments in their idolatrous dances, and making trophies of them, as well as of the sacred vessels. They killed many Spaniards, including women and children, mutilating all their bodies, treacherously destroying more than three hundred and eighty persons. They also robbed the convents, houses, and estancias of the whole kingdom, taking possession of the cattle and horses and of everything in the entire kingdom, of which they made themselves masters, their hatred and vengeance bringing them to surround the villa in order to kill the governor and the persons who were with him defending the royal standard. The siege lasted for a period of nine days. All this and the rest appears in the *autos* of the judicial process, to which I refer. Since they are concluded and arranged, in order that everything may be apparent to the most excellent señor viceroy and captain-general of New Spain and to the tribunals of his Majesty's royal crown, where they should be sent for their decision and conclusion, and so that they may be dispatched with the speed which the case demands, I remit all of them to the said most excellent señor, who in his greatness may order what is fitting. They consist of eighty-eight full and partly written folios, with some blank; and for their remittance, security, and delivery in the royal court of Mexico they are intrusted to the reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, father of this holy custodia, commissary of the Holy Office, visitador and procurador general of the entire kingdom in the two jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and secular. He will be pleased to give a receipt for the said *autos*, and to present and explain in the said court of Mexico everything about them that may be conducive to our case, as our procurador general and in virtue of the powers that have been granted him for all cases concerning this kingdom, for such is conducive to the good administration of the royal justice. And because of accidents that might occur on such a long road as that from this plaza de armas to the city and court of Mexico, accurate certified copies of all of them shall be made in due legal form, and attested. I so provided, ordered, and signed before the secretary of government and war, on the said day, month, and year. ANTONIO DE

OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Mexico, January 4, 1681. To the señor fiscal with the letter concerning this matter. (Rubric.)

[*Letter of the Cabildo of Santa Fe to the viceroy. El Paso, October 12, 1680.*]

Most Excellent Sir: This cabildo of the villa of Santa Fe, of the miserable kingdom of New Mexico, would like to be able to notify your excellency at great length of how the holy gospel is augmenting the power of his Majesty in the extension of his monarchy, but divine dispensations are not mindful of miserable sinners. This admitted, Sir, and the fact that the relief and alleviation which are to be found to-day for the restoration of everything lie in the secure patronage and protection of your excellency, this cabildo, prostrated at the feet of such a great lord, in order not to molest you with the clamors which are to be expected as the result of the loss of a kingdom—where the soil has been watered with the blood of a prelate, the head of that church, and of eighteen priests and two lay religious, and a large number of Spanish women and children; the temples and their images burned and the things of divine worship profaned; and the haciendas and houses and cultivated fields lost, there emerging from the disaster a governor and captain-general, with his citizens and families, most of them on foot, destitute, subsisting on maize from the countryside, and marching with their arms in their hands for many leagues through a larger force of Indian rebels—allows the circumstances to say for themselves the things that this cabildo might explain. But since all this is made clear in the *autos* which the governor and captain-general has substantiated so fully, the cabildo desists on this point and only notifies your excellency that, being anxious to go back in the cause of God and in support of the royal service, it has determined with all care and in full detail what it should cost his Majesty's royal revenues in case of the conquest of New Mexico being undertaken anew. This statement is being carried in writing by the reverend father visitador and procurador general of this kingdom, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, to whose

charity, zeal, and unceasing vigilance is due the stand that is being made to-day in this camp at the order of the governor and captain-general. The latter, through his great efforts, courage, good management, and vigilance, was the chief instrument that prevented all of us from perishing. He came out with two wounds in the face and a shot in the breast, and as destitute as his subjects. The said reverend father came to relieve their necessities, giving them everything from shoes to hats, and relieving also the destitution of the women and children, in which he expended a considerable sum of money, as did the governor, who on our leaving the villa after the siege gave all the people who were following him as much as they could carry from his own property, so that they might be able to make the journey to this place—a very particular service to his Majesty on the part of both persons. The delay of the documents, Sir, has been due to the many risks and our scant resources, for until we were within a short distance from this place where the army now is, we came with our arms in our hands and the enemy in sight. Your excellency will be informed about everything that may occur. We rely on your excellency's generosity, as one who has so strongly supported this miserable kingdom throughout your effective government, and whom the divine Majesty has so placed for its better restoration. This cabildo and these vassals of his Majesty pray that God may keep the person and greatness of your excellency for the augmentation of the faith and of the monarchy. Plaza de armas of El Paso del Río del Norte, October 12, 1680. Most excellent Sir, this cabildo justicia y regimiento kisses your excellency's feet. FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); GREGORIO DE VALDÉS (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ALONSO DEL RÍO (rubric). By order of the cabildo justicia y regimiento. BACHILLER FRANCISCO DE VELASCO, clerk of the cabildo (rubric).

[*Certification of the Cabildo of Santa Fe. El Paso, October 12, 1680.*]

The *alcaldes* and *regidores* of the cabildo of Santa Fe, capital of the provinces of New Mexico, etc., certify to the king, our

lord, in his royal councils, tribunals, and magistracies, and to all his royal justices and ministers before whom these presents may appear: That all the Christian Indians of the said New Mexico have rebelled and renounced obedience to his Majesty, there being none who have not rebelled under treason, apostatizing from the holy faith, burning the holy temples, images, and things pertaining to divine worship, and making trophies and mockery of the priestly vestments and other things in their dances and idolatries. They killed the custodian, prelate and head of the church of the said kingdom, eighteen ecclesiastical ministers, and two lay religious, making a number of twenty-one, besides more than three hundred and eighty persons, including Spanish women and children, and others who were servants, all of whom they killed atrociously, inhumanly, and treacherously, under the said security of Christians who had been reduced to our holy faith by more than eighty years of settlement and teaching. Being convoked and allied, at one time and in the same hour they took up arms and committed the said crimes and atrocities, robbing all the haciendas and taking the cattle, and then going to fortify themselves in the roughest and most inaccessible parts of the sierras and mesas; and they surrounded the villa of Santa Fe, capital of the said kingdom, where they attempted to kill the governor and captain-general, the cabildo, and the other persons who were with him. They besieged them for a period of nine days, fighting with all of them, in which period they burned the holy temple and the dwellings, sacking them and making great destruction. The said governor and captain-general, this cabildo, and the rest of the people who were with him escaped from their barbarous assault, the families amounting to the number of two thousand five hundred souls, most of them women, children, servants, widows, and orphans, who set out marching on foot, destitute and perishing of hunger, following the said governor more than a hundred and twenty leagues, the distance from the said villa to this plaza de armas. They were in the most extreme want, alike from nakedness and weariness and from the desperate need for food. They met the reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office, father of

this holy custodia, visitador and procurador general, ecclesiastical and secular, of the kingdom, who with pious zeal in the service of the two Majesties, full of religious charity, and as prelate and such a great vassal of his Majesty, seeing the necessities already mentioned—in order that the said people might not divide and scatter, and that they might always remain in one body until notice could be given to his Majesty (whom God keep) in his viceroy and royal ministers of the city of Mexico, for the decision as to what was to be done in the matter, he communicating the importance of this step to Señor Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this kingdom for his Majesty, to this cabildo and to such persons as he saw fit, so as to keep all the people at hand, incorporated within the borders of the kingdom, and defended—succored all of them generally in their destitution and necessity, as besieged persons robbed by the enemy. He apparently expended an amount of more than fourteen or fifteen thousand pesos, though it was not computed, among all the said people, in clothing, suits, and other goods, in addition to having directed a considerable expenditure for cattle and maize for the whole army during all the time until the decision and resolution of his Majesty should be known, as to whether or not they were to return for a new conquest. He expressly obligated himself to give daily for rations and sustenance ten head of beef cattle and ten fanegas of maize, a great service to his Majesty, who should reward the said father for so generous a gift, he being very worthy of all the honor and favor that he may be pleased to grant him and the prelates of his holy Order. In recognition of their merits and so that this public service may be recorded, these presents were ordered issued, signed by the members [of the cabildo] in this plaza de armas of Guadalupe del Paso del Río del Norte on the 12th day of October, 1680. It is on the usual blank sealed paper with the seal and authorization of the clerk. (Seal.) FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); GREGORIO DE VALDÉS (rubric); ALONSO DEL RÍO (rubric). By order of the cabildo justicia y regimiento. BACHILLER FRANCISCO DE VELASCO, clerk of the cabildo (rubric).

[*Memorandum and list of the things . . . needed for the new conquest of New Mexico. El Paso, October 12, 1680.*]

Memorandum and list of all the things which it has been determined in a junta attended by the governor and captain-general, the members of the cabildo, and other persons, are to be requested for account of his Majesty for the new conquest of the kingdom of New Mexico, in case his Majesty shall order it.

450—First, at the very least, two hundred paid settlers.

Item. Fifty presidials with the regular salary.

Item. Two thousand fanegas of provisions.

Item. Two thousand head of beef cattle.

Item. Six thousand head of sheep.

450—Item. Two hundred ploughshares of good quality.

600—Item. One thousand six hundred hoes for use in gardening and other household work.

450—Item. Two hundred Biscayan axes.

042—(of each thing) Item. Two hundred adzes and two hundred chisels for dressing lumber, making ploughs, and other things necessary.

42—Item. Two hundred large padlocks with their staples for the doors.

Item. Another two hundred smaller ones for inside doors, this for the settlers.

Item. Twenty-four large hoes for the presidio.

Item. Twenty-four iron shovels and six crowbars.

Item. Twelve pairs of fetters and twelve collars with their chains and padlocks; two hooks, hinges, and padlocks for the stocks.

Item. Twelve pieces of artillery, eight to twelve pounders, and an artilleryman for them among the number of the presidials.

Item. One mould for shot for the artillery and six for harquebuses; some provision for repairing those of the cabildo and the prison.

[Item.] A paid armorer with a salary, who will have the obligation, while the country is being settled, of repairing the

arms which need it gratis, and who will be paid for his work after the Indians are reduced.

Item. Four reams of paper for the *autos* and reports which the cabildo may make.

Item. That, since the archives may be burned and destroyed, his Majesty shall be pleased to order that certified copies be made from the royal books of gobierno of all the privileges he has granted to this kingdom.

Item. That he give us royal ordinances for the better government of the community, and concerning that which must be observed in the personal labor which it is indispensable that the Indians perform.

Item. That the Indians build community houses in all the pueblos so that travelers and citizens may have lodgings, and that they have a porter or fiscal to assist them so that no harm or prejudice may follow to the said natives, to the end that no person whatever may stay in their houses, not even mestizos or Indian servants of the Spaniards being permitted to stop with them in their dwellings, because serious abuses follow such communication.

[In the margin:] The entry into the kingdom should be in August, which is the best and most opportune time.

Item. That no Indian, mestizo, or mulatto may carry harquebus, sword, dagger, or lance, or any other Spanish arms, nor may they own beasts or travel on horseback, the latter being permitted only to servants of soldiers on campaign or on the roads.

Item. That all native servants of the Spaniards, or those who are not such, be made to assemble in the pueblos of which they are natives, and live there, and that they be under discipline and the ministry [of the priests], without being allowed to use the said arms.

Item. That the first thing our reverend father procurador general is to request and arrange is that in case the time shall be lengthened for some reason, provision shall be made for our being succored with supplies for our maintenance because, lacking them, the people will diminish in number.

All of which is delegated and intrusted to his reverence

with unlimited general power and authority in so far as this cabildo can and should give it to him in the name of his Majesty, with confirmation and ratification of the powers that have been delegated by the preceding cabildos, so that, representing this cabildo and the whole kingdom, he may state, request, urge, protest, and reject, without permitting anything requested to be diminished, because of its being very little and trifling for the purpose to which it is directed. We have taken care not to cause his Majesty unnecessary expense, and we have been serving him with our lives, having lost wives, children, relatives, and property in his royal service. Thus he shall petition in virtue of this instrument and the others that may be pertinent, and we submit in everything to what he shall do. On the other hand, we beg and request him that, with his accustomed piety and charity, undertaking this work in the name of God, he solicit among the illustrious and charitable persons of the city and court of Mexico an alms for our clothing and necessities, and for the many families and the poor and orphaned young girls, which the divine Majesty will repay. For effecting everything contained herein, this statement is sent to him by this cabildo y regimiento, signed by the said members, sealed with its seal, and authenticated by the clerk of the cabildo. It is on blank paper because of there being no sealed paper available. Señor Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and president of this cabildo, presided. Done in this plaza de armas of Guadalupe del Paso del Río del Norte, on the 12th day of October, 1680. (Seal.) ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); GREGORIO DE VALDÉS (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); ALONSO DEL RÍO (rubric). Before me, to which I attest. BACHILLER FRANCISCO DE VELASCO, clerk of the cabildo (rubric).

[*Letter of Fathers Juan Alvarez, Nicolás Hurtado, Thomás de Tobalina, and Francisco Muñoz to the Viceroy. El Paso, October 15, 1680.*]

Most illustrious, reverend, and excellent Sir: The bitter grief which fills our hearts for the disaster and lamentable mis-

fortune which by divine permission has occurred in this kingdom, will be the reason for our not being able to express to your excellency all that is to be lamented and mourned in such a calamity; and now in the midst of so great a grief God provides us for the alleviation of our suffering our reverend father visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, so that in the presence of your excellency and your real acuerdo, he may make a vivid report for us of all that has happened, as one who has experienced it so nearly. We submit his veridical account, in which your lordship will find much cause for grief because of the tenderness with which your love has embraced this poor and unprotected kingdom, where we never experienced relief until your reverend lordship's piety charitably succored it. When our hardships were excessively great because of our fatigue from assisting the whole camp, which arrived pitifully destitute and worn out, together with a group of Indian natives of the country, and it being our task to assist in consoling and feeding them from our few provisions, which became even scarcer because of the large numbers, our hearts might have been much afflicted, but we were saved from this heavy burden by the pious zeal and charitable solicitude of our father visitador, who has aided us at great expense with 1,600 head of beef cattle and another portion of provisions, until your excellency's piety can take measures. From you we hope for the complete remedy for our relief and this is the point which offers us supreme consolation, and the calamity of finding ourselves in the open fields exposed to all the rigors of the weather brings no heaviness to our hearts, for we shall be consoled with aid from heaven and your excellency's protection.

In order to assure, Sir, that all the defeated people should not scatter and abandon the kingdom entirely, it was necessary that our father visitador make the said provision of cattle and supplies, and that half of the wagons continue transporting the said succor with all diligence, which in time has proved very costly, because of this having been a year of great calamities due to the many floods, in all of which God has been pleased to visit hardships upon us. At present we do not mourn the blood shed by twenty-one of our brothers, for from them there

comes to our sacred religion such an access of faith and such honor and glory to God and His church. We do mourn and shall mourn for many centuries the failure of our labors in the most doleful apostasy of so many Christians with so many years of teaching and knowledge of God. This, Sir, is the only sorrow that, without human consolation, afflicts our hearts, together with the blind profanation of divine worship, the outraging of the sacred vessels, the destruction of the images, and the burning of the temples. But in your excellency's hands, with the help of God, is the remedy for all. May our Lord grant it to us and keep your excellency with the felicity which our gratitude desires. El Paso, October 15, 1680. Most illustrious, reverend, and excellent Sir, your most affectionate and humble chaplains kiss your excellency's feet. FRAY JUAN ALVAREZ, definidor (rubric); FRAY NICOLÁS HURTADO, definidor (rubric); FRAY THOMÁS DE TOBALINA, definidor (rubric); FRAY NICOLÁS MUÑOZ, definidor (rubric).

[*Letter of the Cabildo of Santa Fe to the Viceroy. Río del Norte, October 16, 1680.*]

Although this cabildo has informed your excellency of the ruin and loss of New Mexico because of the general rebellion of the Indians, and of that which is asked of your excellency for the new conquest of the said kingdom, attending as should be done to its better conservation and restoration, now—foreseeing the serious dangers that are arising and those which have been experienced from allowing the Indians of this kingdom to be admitted in that of La Vizcaya and its jurisdictions, where much damage has been done to wagons and pack trains, from which the Indians have gained great boldness, notifying the other nations of it—it is very necessary that your excellency send orders by means of royal decrees to the said justices of La Vizcaya and other parts that they not permit in their territories, under heavy penalties, any native of New Mexico, but rather that they order them to go to the pueblos of which they are natives and settle down in them. This applies very particularly to a large number of Piros Indians and those of other nations who are to-day in the conversion of Guadalupe del Paso, where

the people of four pueblos have congregated, they being those of Senecú, Socorro, Alamillo, and Sevilleta. There are besides many other nations who, advising one another, have congregated to live with them in not very much subjection, abandoning their pueblos in New Mexico, from which has followed the entry of many heathen enemies, who have wrought much destruction in the said pueblos, since even before the general rebellion they were deserted. The heathen and also the assembled Indians have become much bolder, especially where there is no settlement of Spaniards within many leagues, and they are very near a great multitude of heathen nations. And all are at the first door and entrance of New Mexico, where this army remains to-day with the same fear that it had among the enemy rebels. Therefore this cabildo begs that your excellency give orders on this matter in such manner that they will produce an effect, as mandates of so great a prince. It is also of much consequence, Sir, that there be added an order that the Spanish residents who are natives of this kingdom and have retired from it—settling in Casas Grandes and other places, deserting the royal service, many having been in these parts for more than ten years, and others having come out as fugitives, being lost from one government to another—shall return to their country and assist in the royal service, and that he who leaves without the permission of the governor, although it may be for the time of the pacification, shall be punished. In everything your excellency will order as you may see fit, which will be most effective, as is expected from your excellency's greatness, you having favored this kingdom so much during your government, as such a great lord. May God keep your excellency as this kingdom and his Majesty's vassals have need, in order better to employ themselves in the service of the two Majesties. Plaza de Armas del Río del Norte, October 16, 1680. Most excellent Sir, this cabildo justicia y regimiento kisses your excellency's feet. BACHILLER FRANCISCO DE VELASCO, clerk of the cabildo (rubric); FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); GREGORIO DE VALDÉS (rubric); ALONSO DEL RÍO (rubric).

[*Letter of Antonio de Otermin to the Viceroy. Paso del Río del Norte, October 20, 1680.*]

Most Excellent Sir: Although I wrote to your excellency with the cabildo, and you will see by the *autos* the unhappy and lamentable event that took place in this miserable and unfortunate kingdom—which has cost so much in vigilance and succor from your excellency, and which finally found itself, if not in its former opulence, at least in more peace and tranquillity than had been experienced in these parts for many years, and on the eve of having more than ever, with the hopes of the reduction to our holy faith of the innumerable and warlike nation of the Yutas (concerning which I have already notified your excellency in another letter), assured by the strong friendship and union that we have had in the period of three years during which we have been treating with them—because of the strict obligation which rests upon me I am attempting to give a [fuller] account to your excellency, and to inform you on some points which have appeared to me to be most essential for the better service of his Majesty in the welfare and conservation of these kingdoms, based upon the little experience which I have been able to acquire in the eight years that I have labored in these parts, I having been in all of them. Before entering upon this discussion I state, Sir, as noted above, that this lamentable disaster has taken place in a time of complete peace with the enemy, alike within and without the kingdom, since for many months they had not done us any considerable damage, being chastened by the many punishments which they experienced by virtue of the liberal succor of men, arms, and horses which your excellency sent, on the eve and in sight of its greatest ruin, my sins having deserved it. If I found any consolation in the event it would be in the fact that this ruin did not originate because either of repartimientos or of other drudgery which might have aggrieved these Indians. The greatest and only task that they had [to perform] was that of assisting in the cultivation of the soil in order to obtain the necessary subsistence. Even in this, so that the exactions should not exceed absolute necessity, I can assure your excellency with all truth that during no other time had they been so protected as in mine. I learned of the con-

spiracy and rebellion on the eve of the day of its execution, and in view of the situation of the kingdom, it has been a work of divine providence that a single person should have escaped, because a period of eight days was needed in order to get together twenty men. I found myself with scarcely three who could carry the first news to the nearest jurisdictions, where it was most urgently required, not having been able to send it to the lieutenant general of Río Abajo because the person who was carrying it was killed on the way. And although, having dispatched these first notices, I endeavored to avert the ruin that threatened, sending some men whom I was able to get together hurriedly to the place where it was said the rebellion was being plotted, it had no other effect than to save some families and a religious, because of their having already killed the religious and the residents of the most remote estancias, at the same time carrying off the cattle and horses to the crests of the sierras. In some places, where in virtue of my first order and notice some men placed themselves on guard for the protection and defense of the convents and the religious, as they did in the pueblo of Galisteo, where the custodian was, and in the pueblo of Santo Domingo where there were three religious, the astuteness and malignity of the Indians was such that they easily convinced them [the Spaniards], by their apparent signs of fidelity, and then at the least sign of carelessness the religious and their escorts, together with the *alcaldes mayores*, lost their lives. At the news of these ravages, considering that their final result must be for them [the Indians] to come with all their forces to destroy the villa—and finding myself without hope of succor from the only part I could receive it, which was from the place where were the lieutenant general and the rest [of the people] composing the kingdom, because I had not been able to acquire or hear any news whatever [from them]—I attempted to assemble all the people both of the villa and of the jurisdictions of La Cañada, who were gathered and fortified in the house of the *alcalde mayor* of that place, in the *casas reales* and to intrench and fortify myself as best I could, in order to defend myself against the attacks of the rebels. And while it appears superfluous, it is well that your excellency should know that, the

said *casas reales* having been in ruins and falling down, with many gates open and without even doors at the principal entrance, I therefore a few months previously had set myself to repair them, and they were finished eight days before the rebellion, being in such state that there could be gathered within the said *casas reales* something more than a thousand persons, five thousand head of sheep and goats, four hundred horses and mules, and three hundred head of beef cattle, without crowding, because when we attempted to drive them to pasture we barely escaped with our lives and later found it impossible to set them loose in any other place. I assume that the *autos* show what happened in the villa, and its destruction; and how we were forced to leave it to attempt to join the people of Río Abajo, supposing them to be fortified either in the pueblo of La Isleta or in some of the better houses of the citizens; and our not having found them there, but in the place of Fray Cristóbal; and how, because of urgent necessity, I found myself obliged to go in person to solicit aid in the way of provisions in this new conversion from the reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta; and the rest, to the final conclusion of the *auto* of transmittal. Thus, in order not to repeat the accounts and take up your excellency's time, I omit mentioning them. As soon as I came within sight of the said reverend father and told him of the need that the people were suffering, which would be the cause of their leaving [the kingdom] and even becoming scattered, his reverence—considering what would follow from this and how important it was that they should remain together until, being informed of everything, your excellency might order what was most fitting—with the magnificence of his heart, and with zeal for the service of God and the king, and being full of charity, after having expended in the succor of the people more than twelve thousand pesos in clothing, is making on his own account the expenditure of ten fanegas of maize and ten head of beef cattle daily for the use of these people, having obligated himself to do so until the arrival of the decision that your excellency may make on our requests. To this his reverence adds the labor of setting out on such a long road to present the said petition at your excellency's feet, and although the act carries with it

recommendation for your excellency's thanks, still, in order not to fail in the obligation of gratitude for so great a favor, seeing that neither my own nor that of all the rest could be enough (and it has been expressed only in the wish that God may reward him), I find myself forced to beg that your excellency acquit us in expressing thanks to him for what he has done, so greatly to the service of his Majesty. The measure taken by Governor Don Bartolomé de Estrada also has been of great importance in preventing these people from scattering. I send your Excellency a copy of his order with the *autos*, for although these vassals are so fine in their fidelity to his Majesty's service, the terror inspired in them by the ravages committed by the Indians on their wives, houses, and cattle, and seeing themselves for this reason lacking the small conveniences which they possessed, might oblige them to seek them in other places where it would later be difficult to assemble them. Nevertheless, because of what may happen, in case your excellency may resolve, as is hoped, that we enter to conquer and recover this kingdom anew, it will be very important and necessary that your excellency order and command the said governor of La Vizcaya to compel and urge with all rigor those who may have fled to the district under his authority to return to this camp [so that they may be here] when your excellency's said decision shall arrive.

As for the petition to your excellency for the things that will be necessary in order to return to conquer, settle, and maintain this kingdom, nothing is included that is superfluous, or that is not considered desirable and necessary, and in view of this it is hoped, from your excellency's grandeur of spirit, that the favor will be granted, and also that of giving orders as to how these people are to be maintained during the time which may elapse from your excellency's acting upon our petition until we enter the kingdom, for the offer and obligation of the said reverend father to do it is only until word arrives of that which your excellency may be pleased to order us. The necessity, Sir, for the restoration of this kingdom, after the pious one of recovering so many thousands of lost souls, and [in addition to] its being the principal means by which we can hope for the reduction to our holy faith of such innumerable nations, is

increased by the circumstances and bad consequences which would follow from its remaining thus, and without exemplary punishment for such wickedness. It is the key and safeguard of Sonora and of these parts, for their not being ruined by the Apaches was in virtue of the repeated punishments which the latter experienced from the people of this kingdom. They recognizing this fact, their invasions and ambuscades in it [New Mexico] were continuous, with the purpose of destroying it and making use of their deceits and stratagems to bring the Christian Indians into confederation with them, which they attempted and accomplished so many times. It may be added, Sir, that the conspiracy for the rebellion was so general that it included these said nations, particularly the Christian Indians of this post and pueblo, because most of them are from the kingdom and are relatives of those who have perpetrated their wickedness in it. Some signs of unrest have been noted among them, a thing that has added to the impossibility of being able to return, since it is necessary that they be kept in good order to safeguard the lives of the many religious who are here, and so that the rest of the nations will not perpetrate another such iniquity. For fear of this the lieutenant of the alcalde mayor of this jurisdiction, who is in these parts with four or five residents of Casas Grandes, went there when he learned that the alcalde mayor had arrested three Indians because of signs or evidence of their having attempted to rebel, in order to try to remedy the damage before it happened. I am awaiting word of what he may tell me, so as to send some men to help him if he should need them. It follows from this, Sir, that inevitably the conversion of this pueblo, which exceeds two thousand souls, would be lost, and the rest of the new conversions of San Francisco, Toma, and Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de los Janos, which are being congregated and organized and are in good condition; and consequently, the conversion of Casas Grandes and Carretas and others which they are endeavoring to establish in those regions, and the settlement of Casas Grandes itself with those in its vicinity, as well as the communication between El Parral and Sonora. For it is certain, Sir, that, New Mexico being lost, they will not dare remain here or in the parts men-

tioned except on a footing of thirty or forty soldiers at least, and the governor of La Vizcaya cannot supply them with this number. This evidence is followed by the consideration of that which may happen in Sonora and Sinaloa, where the Indians are no better disposed nor do they have things less convenient for them, due to the conditions there and the [small] forces. Even so, the Valle de los Cedros is to-day depopulated, its inhabitants having been obliged to withdraw to Sinaloa because of the many murders and robberies which the surrounding Christian Indians perpetrated in those estancias, with serious damage to the trade of Sonora because of the danger to the lives of travelers and of the said valley being on the camino real and in the center or heart of Sinaloa and Sonora. So that your excellency may see that I have some basis for what I say in this matter, I submit some letters which confirm it and which I received a few days ago from two persons who by reason of their experience and observation feel the fear that they express as to what may happen in those parts in view of the said example of the rebellion. One of them is Don Francisco de Agramont, who has had so many years of experience in the office of lieutenant general of La Vizcaya, and later in that of governor *ad interim*; the other is Juan Baptista de Escorza, present sargento mayor of Sonora, who has been such for many years. In order to strengthen this discourse, I might give your excellency other examples, as are those of the Tarmares and the Nejapa, and of the Tepeguanes and Tegoantepeque, and other instances that I omit, so as not to weary your excellency. For in order that this kingdom may see accomplished that which it requests of you, if there were no other reasons, it holds as sufficient that of the sorrow that must be inspired in your excellency's Catholic and pious breast by the loss of so many souls as are now apostates. I remain camped and fortified on this bank of the Río del Norte until your excellency's order shall reach me, directing what I am to do, and meanwhile I shall give an account to your excellency of everything that may occur. May God keep your most excellent person the many and happy years that this body of Christians requires you for its support. Paso del Río del Norte,

October 20, 1680. Most excellent Sir, your servant is at your excellency's feet. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric).

[In the margin:] Mexico, January 9, 1681. Put it with the *autos* pertaining to this matter, for the general junta. (Rubric.)

*Letter of Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta, written to the father commissary general. [Real Chico, December 20, 1680.]*¹

Our Reverend Father Commissary General, Fray Domínguez de Noriega. My Father and dear Sir: As I have reported to your excellency, I set out with twenty-four wagons to assist the governor, at all costs, being more confident than was justified that I would overcome the dangers and the craftiness of the fierce and irresistible Río del Norte, for its ferocity inspires terror. Nevertheless, I thought to minimize the risk by being the first to incur it, and by encouraging my people. I attached to the leading wagon six files of pack mules, so that the first ones, swimming across to shallow water, might get a footing. In order that the current might not carry away the wagon, I provided for a number of active Indian swimmers, and I got up into the wagon and drove it into the water, invoking the name of God. There we found the danger greater than we had ever thought, for, although God granted that the first mules should gain the islet and do their best to extricate themselves, the water checked my progress, rising more than a vara and a half through the entrance of the wagon. Just as I, clinging to the top, managed quickly to cut loose the files of mules, that then came out, half drowned, the governor and captain-general, Don Antonio de Otermín, appeared on the opposite bank with twelve soldiers, my secretary, whom I had sent to him with the first relief, and another religious. The poor gentleman had just marched fifty-four leagues in three days, living on dates, to come and hurry me, because both camps were perishing of hunger. They got me out with all haste and took me where he was, though it was not possible to extricate the wagon until, with very great labor, it was accomplished after working from eight in the morning until after six in the evening. This time, how-

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-8-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 92, Library of the University of Texas.

ever, was not entirely lost, for the governor and I, running the risk of drowning, got men to swim on horseback in order to carry over provisions. This task lasted into the night, and there was sent at once as much as could be loaded into bundles. The men who took it carried the extra loads behind them and their saddlebags on top of these. (I do not know whether gold dust will ever be bestowed in the pockets of the bearers as carefully as were the biscuits.) On the following day we dispatched another squadron with as much as they could carry behind them, and God's Majesty was pleased that by means of these measures two hundred and eleven souls, old and young, arrived without any of them having perished for lack of food. I remained with the governor for fifteen days camped on the banks of the river, well supplied with provisions, receiving the people who arrived in groups and in such numbers that there was no heart that was not moved by compassion, nor is it easy to find words for expressing it, for such unhappiness and pitiful tragedy, with the need corresponding to the great numbers, and the poor women and children on foot and unshod, of such a hue that they looked like dead people, inspired one with horror.

Finally they all arrived and recovered somewhat, and we proceeded to discuss what ought to be done. Because I trust in God to be at your reverence's feet by the 6th or 7th of January, and you will understand from the legal *autos*, which comprise more than eighty folios, the miserable condition in which they are, and that everything I have described by the last courier, from which I already have a reply from your reverence, is fully confirmed, I omit further mention of it. It was resolved after immense difficulties that it would be conducive to the service of God and of the king for all to remain in the form of an army, awaiting the decision of the most excellent señor viceroy, so that that which has been accomplished may not be undone. Already discontented and arrogant, and with the increasing impossibility of relieving and maintaining their numbers until a report can be made and a reply received, they have resorted to me, as the unworthy head representing the ecclesiastical, and have just made a representation notifying me of the impossibility of making a halt. Before they had finished I found myself

with a courier from the señor governor and captain-general [of Nueva Vizcaya], from El Paso. He, acting in accordance with the obligations of his position and showing the zeal which he has always displayed in the service of the king, our lord, sent a most strict dispatch, imposing severe penalties and giving orders to all his justices to lend all favor and assistance necessary to Governor Don Antonio de Otermín and to keep all the people who had come out [of New Mexico] obedient to him. This order was to be proclaimed by beat of drum, so that none might dare to leave the side of their governor. (The dispatch was in fact made public, in accordance with my request.) I warn your reverence that if you could see the dire straits in which we found and now find ourselves you would understand that we have come to the point where we must act or abandon everything; and abandoning it [New Mexico] would necessarily expose the missions at one blow, not only in those provinces, but also in the three conversions of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, La Soledad, and Nuestro Padre San Francisco, with all their body of Christians; and that from this and by the withdrawal of protection there would undoubtedly follow the natural consequence, in imitation of the example of New Mexico, of the rebellion of all these nations and the loss of the provinces of Sonora and this kingdom of Parral. Thus is seen the importance of maintaining the people at that place as a check, and of controlling them. Having previously taken all the measures which might be effective, and named overseers for better distribution [of the relief], I directed them to designate and allot to the people more than 1,511 pesos [worth of provisions] which I distributed among them, and 3,500 pesos worth which I paid for some debts which it appeared the deceased religious owed among themselves. I gave as daily rations twelve head of cattle and twelve fanegas of maize for the enlisted men who were not Indians, and for the Indians, whom I joined with the religious, with whom as many as two hundred families that did not participate [in the rebellion] came out, I gave two more head of cattle and two fanegas of maize. All this, and the rest which I state herein, the most excellent señor viceroy and your reverence found in the said legal *autos*, to which I refer you.

I did not report it because of its being my obligation to place the information in your own hands. Then I immediately dispatched the wagons a hundred leagues to load provisions at Las Casas Grandes, and at the same place I bought eleven thousand six hundred head of cattle, and from other places other quantities of grain. Likewise, with the assistance of the señor governor of El Parral, before my departure from the said camp I had bought cheaply from this bishopric and paid for to the last tithe, five hundred fanegas of maize which was not worth anything, and a train of sixteen wagons solely for transporting it. I left my companion, Fray José, with a mule train which I had equipped for him, collecting more grain in La Taramara in exchange for clothing which I have sent him from El Parral, since money does not circulate nor is silver of any use among the heathen Indians who have it, thanks be to God. In the year '80 I have been obliged to learn something about trade. May God in His holy compassion bring me safely through it!

In short, our most reverend father, this is the state of affairs. The whole army is separated into three divisions along the Río del Norte, two leagues distant from one another. The governor and the cabildo are at the place of San Lorenzo (a name that was given in memory of the disaster having happened on the day which the church celebrates as his), and with his lordship are five religious. Their huts are also built in an orderly manner, each one living in the house which he has made with his own hands of sticks and branches, except that in this camp I have left the little cart which serves me as a church, as being more decent. The second is the camp of San Pedro de Alcántara, where there are four other religious; the third is that of El Santísimo Sacramento, where the father preacher Fray Alvaro de Zavaleta serves as prelate, with other religious. The rest of my religious remain in the convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, following their routine, through divine goodness, as if in San Francisco de Mexico or La Providencia. The above being done, they resolved that I should go to apply myself to this business until it should be settled. God was pleased that I should receive the letter of your reverence of October 30, on December 14, on the road, from where I had Father Fray

Nicolás Hurtado, then definidor actual of the custodia, who was going with me, return, in virtue of the honor which your reverence has been pleased to do him in making him custodian and prelate. He is from the province of Michoacán and is well known there for his naturally angelic and most religious manner of life. In the custodia he has won the affection of the religious and of the residents from their experience with him of more than fourteen years. I may say to your reverence that it cost me much persuasion and the use of the affection that exists between prelate and subject to induce him to accept the prelacy, and it is no little consolation to me. Finding myself in this place of El Real Chico, and because I have judged that it is my strict obligation and also the best thing for assisting these poor people in so far as I can, to go to pay my respects to the most illustrious señor, Don Bartolomé de Escamiela, I have resolved to gallop forty leagues in four days, which in fact are days of vacation, as there is nothing I can do in them in that city. I do not proceed without making this report and finishing everything that appertains to my office as procurador, and I now go on to present for your reverence's consideration, you having control over the Congregation, and to supplicate with all the humility I owe you as my father, that you relieve me of the obligation under which I am for the zeal and friendly attachment with which my secretary, Fray Buenaventura de Vergansa, has assisted me, since his labors merit it, by honoring him with a place in the Congregation. He is now fifteen years old, and all the favor that your reverence can show him I shall esteem as done to myself, for I find myself in the position of saying to him, "God will reward you," and have no way of otherwise recompensing his good work. I have barely escaped [from the rebellion] with my breviary, which is what afflicts me most, and I assure your reverence, without exaggeration and with the natural sense of humor that God has been pleased to give me, that I fitted myself out for my arrival in that city, not after the fashion of the habit of the Capuchins, but by piecemeal, at the expense of friends now gone. All that I could now bring as an offering to the most excellent señor, Don Payo, would be a bear-skin and some white stockings. Now that he is no longer viceroy

we all must mourn his absence, and New Mexico and I most of all, for God knows well that at the same time that I rejoice in his promotion, I regret it in my soul, because I know how much his absence will be felt. I cease, trusting in the Divine Majesty that I shall be at your reverence's feet on the day designated. May God keep your reverence many and happy years for the glory of religion, the good of these provinces, and my own support. Real Chico, December 20, 1680. Our reverend father and commissary, your most humble subject kisses your reverence's hands.

Reply of the señor fiscal. Mexico, January 3, 1681.¹

Most Excellent Sir: His Majesty's fiscal states that he has seen this letter written by the father procurador general and custodian of New Mexico, together with another which he wrote from the Río del Norte on last August 31, which was accompanied by another from the maestro de campo, Pedro de Leiva, and other military officers who had come to escort the wagons. The fiscal has seen also the *autos* which he sent with the said letters and which were drawn up on the Río del Norte by the said maestro de campo with participation of the said father custodian, on the occasion of the first and lamentable notice of the events in New Mexico, as is clear from the said letters, and for the purpose of naming the said Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva as superior officer, they believing that Governor Don Antonio de Otermín had died by the hand of the enemy. He was so named by all and they offered him obedience, so that, having a superior to obey, they might go out to succor the people who were coming in flight from the enemy, and to assist the governor, who, his lieutenant advised, was besieged and without hope of being relieved.

In effect, through the activity and zeal of the said father custodian, there were assembled as many as seventy-eight harquebusiers and fifty-one other men who, encouraged and assisted with all generosity by the said father custodian with provisions, arms, powder, munitions, and everything else necessary, went

1. A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, 67-3-32; copy in the Bandelier transcripts, pt. vi, p. 97. Library of the University of Texas.

with the said relief from the place of the Río del Norte on the day of August 31. Although the said father had intended to go with them, the said *maestre de campo* opposed it, issuing an *auto* of request and command, enjoining him to remain in custody and charge of the said wagons, because of the danger to which they would be exposed in his absence. He pointed out the damage that might result from acting otherwise, and that it would be sufficient for him to give him some religious. The father complied with this, contenting himself with remaining on guard over the said wagons, and he gave him four religious to serve as chaplains to the army. This is the general substance of the contents of the first *cuaderno* of *autos*.

In this second letter, dated September 11, the father custodian sends more favorable news gained from some couriers who overtook, at nightfall of the day of the fourth, our people who were going with the relief, and on the following day they entered the place of Fray Cristóbal where the first division was. They then went on from there to the one called Thomé Domínguez, whither the governor had retired and defended himself. It is thirty leagues from Fray Cristóbal. He [Father Ayeta] reports that at this time [September 11] he was in the convent of El Paso preparing various supplies and loading the wagons in order to set out with them and deliver the assistance more promptly.

He goes on to explain that it must necessarily be difficult to induce the Spaniards of that province to settle down and maintain themselves in it, they having now lost all their property, which is what could have kept them there; and he says that it will be a very good thing to persevere in gathering up the apostate and rebellious Christian Indians, who he says number more than sixteen thousand, counting children and adults. He considers that they will no doubt be reduced and return to the fold of the church, inasmuch as they have been born and bred in settlements and are accustomed to agriculture and to our mode of living, and are not used to wandering unprotected through the sierras and forests.

Finally, he concludes by saying that the religious who died at the hands of the enemy numbered twenty-five, whose native

places, names, and provinces, and the places where they died, appear in a memorial enclosed with this letter. In a postscript to it the said father custodian reports the alcalde of Casas Grandes having sent to him four men and ten pack mules by way of assistance; and he states that now the emergency under which he had asked that a courier be sent, bringing confirmation of the naming of Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva as governor, had passed, inasmuch as Governor Don Antonio de Otermín is alive. He offers to report, along with the governor, everything that may occur, so that the most convenient measures may be adopted.

This letter is accompanied by another from the governor and captain-general of La Nueva Vizcaya, in which he refers to the great destruction that the enemy has committed in New Mexico, saying that he considers it impossible to restrain those barbarians unless it is permitted that those who are captured in war be reduced to slavery for a period of ten years, as was formerly stipulated. For, although this solution is opposed to his Majesty's orders, it will not be practicable [otherwise] to recover what is lost or to return to settle the abandoned lands, even though it be done at the cost of the royal treasury; and he says that by the measure of making them temporary slaves, and with some assistance in the way of men, the residents will be encouraged and it will be easy to accomplish it. He goes on to state that, in view of this occurrence, he has resolved to go out in search of the enemy; and that he fears that Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo, governor of Sinaloa, will not send him the soldiers from that presidio for whom he sent to ask him for this purpose, notwithstanding his having remitted to him a royal cedula in which his Majesty ordered him to send them whenever he should make a request for them. He complains that the said admiral exercises the office of alcalde mayor of Sinaloa without a commission from him, that office being under his control; for although he has offered to grant it, it was necessary to send him the commission, for which he has not asked up to the present. On the contrary, he having named another alcalde mayor, he [the governor of Nueva Vizcaya] feared that he was being deprived of the use

and exercise of that office. The fiscal has already replied on this point, in accordance with the royal cedula cited, which is among other *autos* in this superior government, to which reply he refers.

The same father custodian sends with this letter certified copies of some letters written by Lieutenant General Alonso García and other persons, dated September 4, from the place called Fray Cristóbal, where the first division of the people fleeing from the enemy had assembled. In these letters they recount some of the ravages which the barbarians had committed, and that the governor had escaped miraculously, wounded, breaking through the great numbers of the enemy that had surrounded him in the villa, from which he had retired with the people who were able to escape, to the post named Thomé Domínguez; and that they were awaiting him in the said place called Fray Cristóbal. They had gone out to escort him to that place, hoping that the said governor and the wagons would reach it at the same time, so that he might be reinforced and assisted.

There are also found along with these *autos* two other letters written by the said governor and captain-general of La Vizcaya, dated September 7 and 25, in which, in addition to continuing the notices of the lamentable events in New Mexico, and of his having given orders to the *alcaldes mayores* of Sonora and Casas Grandes to assist in sending relief in that emergency, he states that he fears, nevertheless, that the small number of people who are left will have to leave the kingdom, and he is afraid that this example will endanger the kingdom of La Vizcaya, whose Indians are made so bold by it.

As a preventive measure he has resolved to go out in search of the enemy, sending to request soldiers from the presidios of Sinaloa, Cerro Gordo, and San Sebastián, in virtue of the royal cedula in which his Majesty directs that they be at his orders in cases when he may need them. A reply has already been made on this point.

In the last letter of [September] 25, he [the governor of Nueva Vizcaya] says that on receiving the notices which the father custodian, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, sent him to the effect

that a rumor was current that the few Spaniards who had remained in New Mexico were of a mind to abandon it and their governor in case of his attempting to compel them to live there, he had sent a dispatch to the *alcaldes mayores* of that kingdom bordering upon that of New Mexico, ordering that they notify all those who might leave it without permission of their governor to return to assist him on pain of death and of treason to the king, and that if any should resist it they were to be sent under arrest to receive punishment. He again insists that there can be no remedy for recovering what has been lost unless an order is given that all the barbarians captured in war, from the age of sixteen years upward, be reduced to slavery for a period of ten years, for although his Majesty's orders are to the contrary, the new circumstances in the case justify this decision.

The said father custodian in his last letter, dated September 16 and written in the same place of the convent of El Paso, says, continuing his reports, that the relief sent to the governor found him in the post called *Las Vueltas de Acomilla*, not yet having joined the division of the people who were going on ahead and were in the place called *Fray Cristóbal*; and that having received a letter from the governor on the 14th, asking him for help, on the morning of the said day of the 16th he had sent twenty-four wagons loaded with various supplies, following which he himself would go as soon as he had dispatched the courier who brought these letters. He says also that he expected to join the governor within eight days, for although the distance was sixty leagues, since the wagons carried only half a load they could cover it; and that he had not been able to send all thirty of them because of the men belonging to the other six having fled on the previous day and carried off some horses. He lets it be understood in this connection that the Indians assembled at El Paso had been restive, for which reason he had been detained in that place until they were pacified.

He says further that the governor advised him through his secretary of the uneasiness which he felt on recognizing that the people who were with him were not of a mind to remain in that province, and the same lack of confidence was felt con-

cerning those in the division which had gone on to the post of Fray Cristóbal, because of the repugnance with which the more important among them obeyed the order to halt in that place; and that the governor's intention was to go back against the enemy, for the people who remained amounted to a hundred and fifty men bearing arms, and leaving fifty to guard the women and children, the remaining hundred were sufficient to punish and restrain the barbarians. The greatest difficulty would lie in constraining the residents to remain in the kingdom, because for a long time they had been thinking of abandoning it, and three years ago they had refrained from doing so, being appeased by the aid which was sent them and by the hope that with the present flota would come a dispatch from the council authorizing the erection of a presidio in that kingdom. Five months ago forty families had united to leave it, and the governor had detained them with persuasion and prudent measures, without being able to resort to the force of the law even to punish the gravest crimes, for they were all relatives and he had no paid men whom he could use, but only these people themselves. On this last occasion when they had suffered such terrible hardships he greatly feared that it would be impossible to detain them, and that they would make use of the subterfuge of saying that they would halt at the said place of El Paso, which is in the jurisdiction of La Vizcaya, where the governor of New Mexico has no authority. The governor feared that if they reach that post they will disobey him and do whatever they wish; and he was dissimulating it until the said father custodian should arrive, which was the occasion of his sending to summon him so urgently, and the reason why the latter was taking a very considerable portion of supplies in the wagons with which to placate them, and see whether they might be reduced by this means.

He concludes finally by saying that the solution must rest in one of two things. One is to induce them to gain one of the best settlements which they have already passed beyond, and to maintain themselves in it, which is what seems best to the father custodian; and the other is that of their resisting and not desiring to agree to this first means, choosing rather to halt in

the place named El Paso, they affirming that having reached there, recovered from their hardships, and safeguarded their wives and families, they will return to punish the barbarians and reduce the apostates with less risk. He believes that they will proceed cautiously in this matter, in view of their desire to abandon the kingdom, and he says that in order to avert this danger he has written to the governor of El Parral to send orders to the alcalde mayor of El Paso not to permit the citizens of the province of New Mexico to leave that place until your excellency sends a dispatch (which is needed) directing what they must do. And he says that it will be well, in case they come and assemble at the said post, if your excellency will be pleased to send an order to the effect that, notwithstanding their being in the jurisdiction of Vizcaya, they obey the said governor, Don Antonio de Otermín, for from that stopping-place it will be possible to restore more easily what has been lost, and such a great number of apostate Christians will not be left without help. He says also that if the authority to erect the presidio has come in this flota, there can be believed what those great servants of God prophesied more than sixty years ago, to the effect that Christianity in New Mexico would come to almost total ruin, and that then it would increase to great opulence, with discoveries of great riches—*notices* which were held in great veneration among the religious because of the most exemplary lives of those who uttered them.

There is inclosed with this letter a certified copy of one written by Governor Don Antonio de Otermín, dated September 8, from the place opposite El Socorro, in which he gives him an account of the lamentable event, the great danger in which all the residents of that kingdom were of losing their lives, and the many cruelties which the rebellious barbarians visited upon the Christians, mentioning some of the individuals and families who perished. It seems well that this letter be read in its entirety, so that the great conflict and desolation in that province may be known. The best means of relieving it and giving the most prompt assistance to those miserable and afflicted people seems to be that which the said father custodian proposed in his letter of August 31, namely, that there be paid

here to Captain Joseph de Retes the money which he loaned for various uses which the governor had recommended, for which the treasurer of the mint had given him a note, which, together with the provisions that were being taken for the religious, offered a very considerable and prompt relief. This proposal is given weight by the consideration that all those vassals find themselves totally deprived of their haciendas and fortunes, with loss of their children, wives, houses, and crops, and in the affliction of having nothing to sustain the few who are left. Lack of provisions will force them to abandon the kingdom and prevent their reuniting and fortifying themselves in order to recover what has been lost, and returning to reduce and attract the apostate Christians who, as the father custodian affirms, exceed sixteen thousand souls. He states that it would be an impiety and a great weight on one's conscience to leave them totally lost among the barbarians, wasting so many millions of treasure as have been consumed at his Majesty's expense, and so many lives of religious as have been given in the conquest of that land and the conversion of the barbarians. For such urgent and pious necessities as the present one, repeated royal cédulas have granted authority for the expending and releasing by the most excellent señores viceroys of that which is necessary from the effects of his royal treasury. It should be considered likewise that if that kingdom is left unprotected, the barbarians will approach La Nueva Vizcaya and endanger that wealthy kingdom as well, as the governor of that province has already foreseen and warned.

Passing on to discuss the last two points that the father custodian proposes, there is no doubt that the best means of the inhabitants of New Mexico placing themselves in safety is for all to come and assemble in the valley and place that they may find to be most fertile and suitable, for it is well understood that the cause of their having experienced such a lamentable misfortune is the fact of their forces having been scattered and their settlements at such distances as twenty or thirty leagues apart, and unable to assist one another. The fiscal can see no good reason why, since this conversion is the most remote in the kingdom and cannot be aided from any province in case of

such an uprising as the one it now suffers, there has not been erected in it a presidio with paid troops such as are on all the frontiers of this kingdom, there being five in the province of Vizcaya, and an extra company of thirty soldiers, which is in accordance with that directed by the royal cedula concerning settlements, dated in El Bosque de Segovia. It is apparent from all this that from the beginning provision has been lacking to make possible the maintenance and conservation of this new conversion and these provinces; and meanwhile, until a presidio is founded to safeguard and defend them, it is unreasonable to compel their inhabitants and the religious teachers to remain in the place that the governor may choose, against their will and exposed to the known danger of losing their lives and of the recent converts returning to apostasy. For it seems that until a report can be made to his Majesty they could come and assemble in the said post and place of El Paso, which is the one that they appear to have chosen as most fitting for their safety, and where they can be assisted more promptly with everything they need. But to return and enter the interior without leaving their rear safeguarded will be a most reckless disregard of the punishment already suffered.

Inasmuch as it is difficult, because of the distance, to go back from there to reduce and pacify the apostates, and as they must make a stand farther on, the fiscal will always consider it necessary that there be erected a presidio of fifty armed men, paid at his Majesty's expense. They may be volunteers if there are any, and may be sent from this city pending the sending of a report to his Majesty with certified copies of the *autos*, so that in view of them he may make the decision which he considers best. The fiscal will always be of the opinion that the greatest service that can be done his Majesty is to issue a proclamation to the effect that all the families who may desire to go from this city, where there are so many idle and poor, to the said province of New Mexico and even to the kingdom of La Nueva Vizcaya, shall be given the cost of the journey at his Majesty's expense, and that there they shall be assigned the lands they need and given full title to them. Thus at least eight or ten families could go on each journey that the wagons make, by

which means the settlements of Spaniards would continue to increase, which is the one and least costly means of checking and restraining the barbarians. From it would follow the benefits of increasing the conversions, safeguarding those that are there, and working the mines, to the great and evident profit of the royal treasury, because of their being so rich, especially those of the kingdom of La Nueva Vizcaya, where many are deserted and of no use from fear of the barbarians and because of the many hostilities that they suffer from them, horses and cattle being stolen every day. Thus the settlements are continually decreasing, as well as the profits from silver, and since all the nations on the frontiers of La Nueva Vizcaya aid and abet those of New Mexico, every day worse attacks and ravages may be feared, especially as they are now so elated and arrogant with the lamentable occurrence in New Mexico. For all these reasons this matter is very deserving of your excellency's most active attention, and you may be pleased to issue an order that in case its inhabitants assemble in the said place of El Paso they shall remain under the orders of and obedient to the said governor of New Mexico, Don Antonio de Otermín, notwithstanding that post being in the jurisdiction of La Vizcaya. This is convenient for the present, until a report is made to his Majesty, for if the superior who directs them is withdrawn, it is to be feared that they will totally desert and abandon the kingdom, passing to that of La Vizcaya and making wholly impossible the recovery of what is lost and the reduction of the apostates, as the father custodian warns.

Your excellency with your exalted foresight will direct and order that which you consider most conducive to the service of both Majesties. Mexico, January 3, 1681. LICENTATE DON MARTÍN DE SOLÍS DE MIRANDA.

Decree. [Mexico, January 4, 1681.]

Mexico, January 4, 1681. To the junta general de hacienda. Signed with the rubric of his excellency.

[Reply of the fiscal. Mexico, January 7, 1681.]

Most Excellent Sir: His Majesty's fiscal, having seen these *autos* drawn up by Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and

captain-general of the province of New Mexico, and the letter written by the cabildo justicia y regimiento of the villa of Santa Fe, capital of the said province, says: That he gave a lengthy reply concerning this matter upon receiving the *autos* and letters which the father visitador and procurador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, wrote at the time of the first notices of the conspiracy and rebellion of all the Christian Indians of that province, which reply he [the fiscal] reproduces. The new information contained in these *autos* serves to verify the fact that on the day of August 13 [?] the rebellious Indians carried out their conspiracy in all the pueblos and estancias at the same time, with such severity and cruelty that they killed twenty-one missionary religious, nineteen of them priests, among whom was the father custodian general, and two lay brothers, and more than three hundred and eighty Spanish persons, not even sparing the innocence of the women and children. They set fire to the temples, mocking the saints and profaning the holy vessels with such serious desecrations and insolences that it is indecent to express them. They left thirty-four pueblos laid waste and destroyed, besides many other isolated estancias and haciendas, without finding any resistance to their ferocity except in the said villa and capital of Santa Fe, where the said governor resided, who placed himself in defense in the casas reales, where he was besieged for nine days, having gathered therein all the people and cattle that he could. Realizing that they had cut off his water supply; that his provisions were becoming exhausted; that the numbers of the enemy were increasing, they coming in from other pueblos and nations; and that their insolence and fury were so great that they had set fire to the houses and temples, and were attempting to do the same to the casas reales; and considering that no help could reach him from any direction whatever, alike because of the multitude of the barbarians, who had taken all the passes, and because of the notices which he had acquired from some of them whom our men captured and from others who fled from the enemy, to the effect that all the religious and Spaniards of the surrounding pueblos had been killed, he resolved, in accordance with the decision of a junta and the opinion of those who were besieged,

they seeing themselves in danger of losing their lives by hunger or at the hands of the enemy, to go out against them or to retreat as well as he could. This they did, breaking through the main column of the barbarians with the loss of one Spaniard, and many wounded, as was the governor also, he receiving two wounds in the face and a shot in the breast. The barbarians having been put to flight by this assault, our people turned upon some houses where forty-seven Indians were fortified, whom they shot, after they had declared that the rebellion had been discussed for a long time at the instance of the Teguas Indians of the pueblo of Tesuque. Notwithstanding their having killed more than three hundred Indians in the encounter, fearing that those from other pueblos would continue to assemble and would in turn convoke the heathen nations, they [the Spaniards] resolved to leave, withdrawing from the said villa, carrying as many provisions as they could and the few cattle that they had left, and directing their march toward the post called Fray Cristóbal, where the lieutenant, Alonso García, was. He had assembled there all the Christian Indians and Spaniards of the pueblo of La Isleta and from the adjacent estancias. Upon receiving news from some who had escaped by dint of hard riding to the effect that all the houses of the villa of Santa Fe were burned, and being without hope of the governor having made a defense, considering him dead at the hands of the enemy, and fearing the same uprising among the Indians under his command, because of its having been general, and considering that if he should go to the assistance of the said governor the Spanish women and children whom he had gathered up would be in manifest danger, there not being enough men to leave them a sufficient guard and to go to the assistance of the said governor with the rest, he [Alonso García] resolved with the advice and consent of his companions to continue marching with his people toward El Paso del Río del Norte. After a few days' march, in the place which they call El Socorro, the said governor made them the proposition as to whether or not it would be well for our camp to make a halt, so that those who found themselves armed and with beasts could go back against the enemy to recover the said villa of

Santa Fe and the rest of the pueblos. Almost all of them were of the opinion that it would not be advisable, in view of their being without provisions, with very little powder and munitions, very few horses, and these lean and tired, and the men being worn out with the march, scant food, and the labor of the nine days during which they were on the watch while they were besieged, and because it would be necessary that a large part of our men remain guarding the women and children, since that place was in the lands of the barbarous and numerous nation of the hostile Apaches. It was to be considered [also] that while they were on the march they had realized that the enemy was spying upon them, and that, fearing the Spaniards would turn upon them, they would have assembled all the rebels and even called upon the heathen nations to aid them. Therefore they [the Spaniards] were of the opinion that, in view of the great necessity and want which they were suffering, the people should continue to march as well as they could toward El Paso, where the said reverend father visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, was with the wagons containing the allowance of alms. With his advice and with the succor that he could give them (having placed the women and children in safety) they could make a more effective decision. In consideration of the decision of the said junta, and of the fact that the said father procurador general had stated in a letter which the governor had received from him in the said place that he had news to tell him with regard to the decision that must be made, he [the governor] decided to go ahead with twelve men to meet him. He found him as he was attempting to cross the river with the twenty-four wagons he was bringing, laden with supplies. One of them was mired in the middle of the river, not having been able to cross to the other bank because of the high water in its channel, and in it was the said father procurador himself, in great danger. Several Indian swimmers, plunging into the water, brought him out, and by dint of much effort and with double lines of mules hitched to the said wagon, it succeeded in crossing, although with the loss of some things and with damage to others, many of the goods it was bringing being soaked with water, they being later taken

out and dried in the sun. Other goods were taken across by swimming the beasts and some were carried behind men mounted on horseback, in squadrons, who brought succor of provisions to the columns of people who were marching, so that they might be relieved of the great want they were suffering. They numbered nearly two thousand persons.

On arriving at the said place of El Paso, the said governor at once issued an *auto* for convening a general junta of all the people, which the said father procurador general also attended, with other religious, so that they might discuss and give their opinions as to the place in which they should assemble, and whether it would be well to return immediately against the enemy to punish the rebels and recover the settlements of which they had taken possession. All gave their opinions on the matter in writing, the said father procurador general with his *definitorio* offering whatever he was bringing in his wagons, and the religious needed to assist them, and he offered particularly, if it was decided to send some troops to recover what had been lost, to assist and succor them with the necessary supplies, except for beasts. For the aid of the soldiers without equipment he said he would give twenty cuirasses which he had left, four dozen stirrups, fifty hats, shoes for themselves and for their wives, and two hundred varas of fine brabant linen for shirts; and that he would see to it that their wives and families were supplied with everything necessary for their maintenance; and that for all in common he would furnish ten head of beef cattle and eight fanegas of shelled corn daily; and that purveyors should be named so that its distribution should be just and proportionate. Later, in another letter, the said father procurador general offered to assist the said people with two more fanegas of maize, making in all ten each day; and he said that in accordance with his former offer, he had placed in manifest provisions and meat from the day on which the people arrived, and had brought and paid for another six hundred fanegas of maize and had the wagons ready to go to transport provisions, beginning with the day of October 18. He had also bought and paid for in the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes 1,640 head of beef cattle, and he was continuing his efforts for still more

assistance. He requested also that the people be notified that those who were in want should apply to the said father procurador general, who was ready to succor them with all the kinds of clothing and shelter at his command; and he asked that they be told that he had arranged in the province of El Parral and its vicinity for them to send him all the wool they could, so that the women of the camp might make use of it to relieve their necessities.

Their votes being given in writing, almost all [the members of the junta] agreed with the opinion of Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza, to the effect that it would not be well, nor was there possibility of being able to go back against the enemy, for the reasons that he expressed in his opinion and that were given in that of the cabildo y regimiento, and especially because of the approach of winter; and because, of the one hundred and fifty-five men whom they had who were able to bear arms, they could not arm fifty for lack of weapons, since most of those they had were useless; and for lack of beasts, since the few remaining ones were very lean and worn out with continual work; and because it must be considered that the rebellious Indians, foreseeing that the Spaniards might come back against them, would all be assembled and would have made alliances with the heathen Indians. Therefore the success of the undertaking was highly doubtful, and almost all were of the opinion that the departure should be delayed until giving an account to your excellency, and that meanwhile the people should be assembled and counted in the place which might be selected as most suitable. In accordance with the said opinion, the said governor made a count of all the Spanish persons, and there were found to be 1,946 persons of all ages, [including] a hundred and fifty of military age, and 471 horses and mules. Whereupon they decided to settle down between the conversions of Guadalupe and San Francisco, awaiting your excellency's orders and the succor that you might be pleased to send them. The said procurador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, came personally to seek it, with powers from that whole kingdom to represent their necessities and the assistance that would be needed to enable them to return and recover the thirty-four lost pueblos.

It seems that he should be asked for a specific memorandum of what will be needed for that restoration, and it still seems requisite that a presidio of fifty paid men be established, this being in conformity with the royal cedula on settlements and new conversions, in which it is directed that there be paid presidios on all the frontiers. For it is recognized that, lacking this protection, we shall always be exposed to such lamentable occurrences as that which is now experienced; and it seems that it would be very convenient to found the said presidio on this side of the Río del Norte in the place which may be chosen as most suitable, between the three conversions which remain in that custodia, called La Soledad, Guadalupe del Paso, and San Francisco de los Zumas; and that in the post which they may select all the Spaniards shall be required to assemble, for the forces in the province of New Mexico being disunited and the pueblos and estancias at such distances from one another as thirty or forty leagues has been the cause of the enemy carrying out their conspiracy wholly at their pleasure, the Spaniards being unable to help one another. The said place where they may assemble should be understood to be the capital of New Mexico, and in its jurisdiction, from which, having made the necessary preparations, it will be possible to go out to chastise the rebels and recover what has been lost. It will serve also as a defense for the kingdom of El Parral, which to-day is in great danger because it is very probable that these rebellious Indians may join with other heathen nations, and because those in the kingdom of La Vizcaya are so expert and so able in the management of arms and horses that, united with the heathen, they could do us much harm. Our people and the missionaries in the said post on this side of the Río del Norte can be helped much more promptly, and the Río del Norte itself will serve them as a defense. Furthermore, there are many more heathen nations among whom the holy apostolic ministry of the missionaries may be exercised. Considering that it is very necessary that the said rebel Indians be punished so that such a pernicious example may not remain, they having given sufficient cause for being subjugated by force of arms, especially as rebels and apostates who ought to be reduced to the fold of the church

by all possible means, there should be adopted by your excellency all the convenient measures looking to their reduction, and on being conquered by our forces they should be compelled to settle wherever the governor may direct them, so that it is near the Río del Norte, without leaving the heathen nations among them as the Apaches have been hitherto. In order to assure that they will not return [to New Mexico], they should bring their whole body of women and children and make settlements near the presidio, so that they may be chastised whenever any trouble comes up. For the present, until the said father procurador general shall make a representation of the things that are necessary for the succor of the citizens of the said province, as regards the expenditure which the said father procurador general has made and is making for them, let him be reimbursed from the eight thousand pesos which Captain Joseph de Retes has supplied to the governor, for which the treasurer of the mint issued a note. Since the said father procurador has spent that amount, let it be paid to him from this royal caja, these being the most ready assets that can be had. This should be done in the understanding that those poor men now have no resources from which they can support their families, because all their property remains in the hands of the enemy, and most of them have the additional grief of the rebels having put their wives and children to the knife. All this inspires the piety which will be very acceptable to the king, our lord, who has repeatedly explained his will and how much he desires the encouragement of new conversions and the propagation of our holy Catholic faith, giving orders that there be spent therein all that may be necessary, concerning which your excellency with your great zeal, piety, and foresight will resolve upon what is best. Mexico, January 7, 1681. LICENCIADO MARTÍN DE SOLÍS MIRANDA (rubric).

[*Letter of Fray Francisco de Ayeta to the Viceroy. Mexico, January 7, 1681.*]

Most Excellent Sir: Fray Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office, visitador and procurador general of the missions of New Mexico, states: That it has just come to my

notice that your excellency has been pleased to convoke a general junta in order to discuss therein that which was requested by the señor fiscal, in view of the *autos* and letters remitted by the petitioner, giving news of the miserable and lamentable ruin which that kingdom has suffered as a result of the unexpected rebellion of the Christian Indians of the pueblos adjacent to it, who committed the many assaults and murders that are apparent from the *autos*. Since this matter is of such evident seriousness, and as its decision depends upon the careful inspection of them [the documents], it seems that, if your excellency please, you could suspend the decision, for I have matters to represent to your excellency's greatness. Whenever you may so order me, I shall do it with all obedience and promptness, if your excellency will be pleased to grant me a period of twenty-four hours for the purpose, as I have arrived so tired out from the journey and in such ill health from the long road. It being necessary and convenient that I make a report to the junta verbally, or in whatever manner your excellency may order me, I shall attend with all obedience, telling what I know about the matter. In this connection I have just received the royal cedula which I present with the necessary formality, directed to your excellency, in which his Majesty orders that the province of New Mexico be assisted with everything that may be necessary for its conservation, and orders that he be informed as to what is expressed therein. In view of it, your excellency will decide in everything that which is conducive to the better service of his Majesty, and the conservation and extension of the Catholic faith, and the relief and consolation of those miserable vassals, the promotion of the settlement of that kingdom, and the reduction of the apostate Indians to the fold of the holy church. Your excellency, with your accustomed foresight and zeal, will resolve upon what you may consider best. Mexico, January 7, 1681. FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA (rubric).

[*Royal Cedula. Madrid, June 25, 1680.*]

The King. Count of Paredes, Marquis of La Laguna, relative, member of my council, cámara, and junta de guerra

de Indias, upon whom I have conferred the office of viceroy, governor, and captain-general of the provinces of New Spain, and the presidency of my royal audiencia of Mexico, or to the person or persons in whose charge its government may be. Don Fray Payo de Rivera, archbishop of the metropolitan church of the city of Mexico, your predecessor in the office of viceroy, in a letter of June 19 of the past year of 1679, stated that by a cedula of June 18, 1678, I gave my approval to the succor of men, arms, and horses which in the year 1677 was remitted to the provinces of New Mexico; and that on the occasion of his having notified the custodian [of New Mexico] of it, he represented to him the results and benefits which followed from the said succor, and proposed to him that for the greater security of those provinces another fifty soldiers would be needed, and that a presidio should be formed with them for a period of at least ten years, they being armed and paid in the form and manner which is followed in the province of Sinaloa. And he stated that the fiscal of that audiencia having reviewed the request, he recommended that its execution be suspended for the present, as well as the new succor which was requested. There were sent the certified copies which came with his letter of the account and statement which the custodian gave him of having delivered the succor mentioned to the governor of the said provinces, and of the new representation which he made, so that in view of it and of the state and need in which they found themselves, and of the subsequent good effects, I shall order what I may see fit. Having examined it in my royal Council of the Indies, together with that which Fray Francisco de Ayeta, custodian and procurador general of the provinces of New Mexico, of the Order of Saint Francis, wrote me on this matter in a letter of May 28, 1679; and the certified copies which he and my archbishop viceroy remitted relating to this matter; and above all, that which my fiscal requested, it has seemed well to order and command you (as by these presents I do order and command you) that, having informed yourself of the progress which the conversion of the Indians of the said provinces of New Mexico has made (for you know that this is my principal care and desire), and it being clear

to you that this obligation is being complied with by the ministers who are charged with ministering to, indoctrinating, and teaching them, you will apply all the means at your command for the succor and defense of those provinces and their conversions, in the form which you may consider most convenient and necessary, so that the leading and conversion of the Indians and natives of them to our holy Catholic faith may be accomplished, as well as the conservation of that already discovered and which may be discovered. And you will give me an account on all the occasions that offer of what you do in this matter, and of the results that may come from it, understanding that I have full confidence that you will apply to this all your attention and care, so that the better service of God and of myself may be obtained, in which I shall consider myself well served by you. Done in Madrid on June 25, 1680. I THE KING (rubric). By order of the king, our lord. DON JOSEPH DE VEITIA LINAGE (rubric).

(Rubric.) To the viceroy of New Spain, who, having been informed of the progress made in the conversion of the Indians of the provinces of New Mexico, and it being clear to him that this obligation is being fulfilled, will apply all the measures possible for their succor and defense. Compared (rubric).

[*Junta general de hacienda. Mexico, January 7, 1681.*]

In the junta general de hacienda of January 7, 1681, attended by his excellency and the señores, Licenciado Don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salcedo, knight of the Order of Alcántara, and Licenciado Don Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín, oidores of this royal audiencia; and Licenciado Don Jacinto de Vargas Campusano and Licenciado Don Agustín Felix Maldonado, alcaldes del crimen of it—there being present also the señores fiscales of his Majesty, Don Francisco de Prado y Castro, contador of the tribunal de cuentas of this New Spain; and Factor Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, Treasurer Don Antonio de Rosal, and Contador Don Sebastián de Guzmán y Córdoba, juezes oficiales reales of this court; and Don Antonio de la Vega y Noroña, contador general of the reales tributos y azogues

of this kingdom—they having seen and been given a report on the letters and other judicial proceedings relative to the rebellion in New Mexico, written by the father custodian, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, it was resolved that the said father custodian report in writing everything that he may see fit so that it may be examined in the junta which will be held for the decision of this matter on Friday, the 10th of the current month. They so resolved, and signed with their rubrics, with his excellency.

HIS EXCELLENCY. Señores AGURTO, SAN MARTÍN, VARGAS, MALDONADO; there being present the señores fiscales of his Majesty, PRADO, DEZA, ROSAL, GUZMÁN, NOROÑA.

[*Memorial of Fray Francisco de Ayeta to the Viceroy. Mexico, January 9, 1681.*]

Most Excellent Sir: Fray Francisco de Ayeta, commissary general of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, visitador and procurador general of the holy Order of my father Saint Francis in the missions and provinces of New Mexico, states: Having received notice that on the day of the 7th of the present month your excellency was pleased to convoke a general junta for the inspection and examination of the *autos* concerning the rebellion of the Christian Indians of those provinces, I presented therein a writing in which I begged that your excellency be pleased to suspend the decision, since I had something to represent to your excellency on the matter. I also presented a royal cedula directed to your excellency bearing on this matter, and it having been examined in the said junta, I was given a verbal order to make a report in writing, being given until Friday, the 10th of the present month. Complying with the tenor of that which your excellency was pleased to order me, I state, most excellent Sir, that to-day that miserable kingdom finds itself totally destroyed and ruined by the execrable tyrannies which those barbarians perpetrated upon the loyal vassals and faithful evangelical ministers, so much so that those who have remained have been able to maintain themselves by a miracle, all of which is apparent from the original *autos* which I put into your excellency's hands. For its restoration the cabildo y regimiento of the villa of Santa Fe, former capital of that kingdom,

delivered to me the instruction and powers which I present with due formality, in which it lists the supplies that will be indispensably necessary for forming an army and making a new conquest and reduction of the barbarians, wherein is recognized their zeal in the service of both Majesties, for there is no doubt that as such loyal vassals they will execute it with all courage.

The said instruction fails to include some very useful and necessary military stores, such as harquebuses, powder, and shot, and thus your excellency will be pleased to order that there be sent two hundred flintlock harquebuses from those that may be in this royal armory, alike for the settlers who are to enter for this conquest and for the regular soldiers who are to be stationed in the presidio which will be formed, and so that the governor and captain-general of those provinces may have them in reserve in his *casas reales*; and also 6,000 gunflints for the harquebuses.

Likewise two hundred and fifty swords with their cutting blades are needed for the mounted soldiers both of the presidio and among the settlers who may enter the interior of the country.

Thirty quintals of powder and as much more as your excellency may be pleased to send, so that it may be in reserve and that this article, so necessary in war, may not be lacking; and also the corresponding shot.

Considering the increased expenses which the new reduction and conquest of these barbarians causes to the royal treasury, it has seemed well to me to represent to your excellency that my holy Order (so as to do a service to his Majesty) has had in its charge the administration of the wagons in which are transported the alms which, in his Catholic and royal generosity, he grants each triennium to the missionary religious who have assisted in the said provinces, the amount of which is sixty-one thousand four hundred and forty pesos. To-day evangelical ministers are indispensably necessary for this new conversion, and [the Order] desiring to continue with the holy zeal which it feels in the service of both Majesties, it seems that, if your excellency please, it would be well to accept the means which I offer in its name, which is that a third of the quantity

assigned as alms, which amounts to 20,480 pesos, be given to the religious who remain and who would have to assist in this campaign, for their stipend and regular maintenance; and that the 40,960 pesos which make up the other two-thirds shall serve as assistance in the necessary and increased expenditures which it is estimated that this new conquest will occasion. For, it being accomplished and concluded (with divine favor), my sacred Order must transport the alms to the religious in the said wagons, so that they may advance for the administration of the holy sacraments in such vast provinces, and for this purpose it is necessary to retain the said wagons, their mules, and servants, and also in order that there may be transported meanwhile the alms and provisions to the religious who have remained there. In this connection it is very timely to note that once the wagons are dispersed and scattered, the gangs of servants discharged, and the mules sold, it will occasion a very great expense to my sacred Order to equip them again, it being understood that as the conquest and new reduction advances, it will become necessary to increase the number of evangelical ministers so that they may provide sufficient spiritual nourishment, and consequently as their numbers increase it will be needful to increase their stipends.

I also bring to the attention and most elevated understanding of your excellency the service which I endeavored to do his Majesty in the succor which those miserable people required, they being in more danger of dying of the hunger and discouragement that afflicted them than from the severity of the barbarians who waylaid them. Therefore, finding myself in El Paso del Río del Norte with the wagons under my direction, disregarding the dangers which threatened me from the floods, I plunged into the river with one of the wagons which carried provisions and goods with which to relieve their destitution and necessity, as is apparent from the certification which I likewise present, given by the cabildo justicia y regimiento in the royal plaza de armas which has been set up for the defense and protection of the women and children whom they are conducting, and who were able to escape the tyranny of the enemy. The said wagon and the others were carrying fourteen thousand

pesos in goods and clothing, eight thousand of it belonging to Captain Joseph de Retes and consigned to some citizens of that kingdom on credit of its governor and captain-general, for which a note was executed in this city in virtue of his power of attorney; and the remaining six thousand pesos worth of goods were products of the country, which I had requested and was carrying for the religious of those provinces, who did not receive them, and they should be paid for in order that I may satisfy the persons who gave them to me.

I paid four hundred pesos to Sargento Mayor Valerio Cortes del Rey, a citizen of El Real de San Joseph del Parral, for two hundred arrobas of wool which I bought of him at two pesos each, so that the women might weave some fabrics with their own hands with which to clothe themselves and their children.

I purchased, as shown by the *autos*, one thousand six hundred and fifty head of beef cattle for the sustenance of the said people for a hundred and fifty-five days, at the rate of ten head a day, which runs from the 7th of September of last year to the end of February of the present one. The said cattle were purchased at the price of four pesos each, which amounts to six thousand six hundred pesos.

I spent also eight thousand two hundred and fifty pesos, which was the cost of one thousand six hundred and fifty fanegas of maize, at the rate of five pesos each, for the said rations during the time referred to, at the rate of ten fanegas daily. The said commodity cost this amount because of the distance which it was transported to that camp. The totals of these expenditures (all of which appear in the *autos* and certifications cited) amount to twenty-nine thousand two hundred and fifty pesos. In view of the fact that, in the account and sworn statement which I have submitted to the royal officials of this court of the sums which were paid to me from the real caja under their charge, to be consigned under mine to the provinces of New Mexico, I make a clear balance of nine thousand six hundred and twenty-five pesos which, deducted from the principal amount of these expenditures, leave nineteen thousand six hundred and twenty-five pesos, your excellency will be pleased to order the latter amount released and paid to me

by the said royal officials, alike to satisfy the said Captain Joseph de Retes, pursuant to the note executed in his favor, and to pay other persons the various amounts with which they credited me for the purchase of the grain and commodities referred to. In this connection it is very well to consider that in these expenditures for succor there has been accomplished the conservation and maintenance of that little army so as to check in part the continuous hostilities of those barbarians. There is not included in them the expenditures made from the day of August 25 of last year when I gave the first assistance, sending the men at the first news to save those who remained alive, and endeavoring to learn about the governor and captain-general, because of the report that was circulating that the enemy had killed him. The mules, harquebuses, horse-armor, and other necessary things with which I equipped the soldiers, which stores belonged to the defense of the wagons, have not been returned to me. Nor did the expenses of the ten wagons which I dispatched both to this city of Mexico and to the provinces of Sonora and La Nueva Vizcaya fail to be quite considerable, all these steps being directed toward the needful relief which the afflicted people of New Mexico required. In this the royal treasury has not been burdened, because of its having been done and supplied from loans which were made through my arrangement and agency by some persons zealous in the service of both Majesties, who have relieved me of the debt.

It should be noted that the supply of provisions described, which has been given, will last only until the end of February of this present year, and that it is necessary that those poor people have something to eat. Thus in the future it is requisite that a supply of provisions and sustenance be provided, and that an entirely trustworthy person be charged with buying and conducting them to the Río del Norte as quickly and efficiently as the case demands, for until the month of August (which is when they must leave on this enterprise, for which time are intended the two thousand fanegas of maize and the cattle which are asked for in the said memorandum) it is necessary to encourage them by providing the food they need to live on.

For these reasons, and for others which are not mentioned

and which I submit with all humility, in the name and mournful voice of that miserable kingdom, to your excellency's pious understanding—so that in view of this representation and of the *autos* submitted you may be pleased to regard this cause as one in the greater service of God, our Lord, and the exaltation of His holy faith, which has been outraged with such treacherous murders of His ministers and of his Majesty's vassals, who endeavored to maintain it, many women and children being carried away by the insolence and audacity of the barbarous apostates; and since it is not right that there should follow the pernicious consequences which threaten the provinces of El Parral and Sonora, the prevention of which ought to take precedence as the most urgent public emergency that can arise, since none equals it at present—your excellency, as such a great prince and being zealous for the better service of both Majesties, will take the measures which you may regard as most convenient for the conservation and growth of those provinces, which it is hoped will be reduced to obedience to his Majesty and the propagation of the holy Catholic faith. This is the chief end of this representation, and I beg your excellency to give me a certified copy of the decision that may be taken in view of this writing and of all the *autos* concerning this matter, for the safeguarding of my rights and those of my holy Order, and that it be stated that I have complied with my charge and obligation. Your excellency will above all resolve upon that which you deem best. Mexico, January 9, 1681. FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA (rubric).

[*Auto of the Junta General de Hacienda. Mexico, January 10, 1681.*]

In the junta general de hacienda of January 10, 1681, which the most excellent señor, the Marquis of La Laguna, viceroy of this New Spain, held with the señores, Licenciado Don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salcedo, knight of the Order of Alcántara, and Licenciado Don Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín, oidores of this royal audiencia; and Licenciado Don Jacinto de Vargas Campusanto, and Licenciado Don Agustín Felix Maldonado, alcaldes del crimen of it—there being present also the señores

fiscales of his Majesty, Don Francisco de Prado y Castro, contador of the tribunal de cuentas of this kingdom; and Factor Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, Treasurer Don Antonio del Rosal, and Contador Don Sebastián Guzmán, royal officials of this court—they having examined the new petition of the Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta, custodian and procurador general of the provinces of New Mexico, and the memorandum and statements which he presented with it from the members of the cabildo justicia y regimiento of the villa of Santa Fe of those provinces, considering the seriousness of the matter and that it is necessary to attend to it with all the requisite vigor and activity, without losing an hour's time, it was resolved to be fitting and necessary to succor the said kingdom of New Mexico with everything that may lie within human provision, alike in order to maintain the people who have remained in the post and place of El Paso, and for the restoration of the said kingdom. And so that it may be done with the deliberation and mature consideration that is fitting, and that there may be ascertained definitely, distinctly, and clearly what is requisite and necessary for the things that are proposed, it is committed to the señores ministers whom his excellency thinks best so that with the advice and assistance of the said Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta they may report in writing with all detail what is needed for the purposes mentioned, and in order that the desired end may be attained, namely, of maintaining the people who survive from the said kingdom, and of restoring it. His excellency immediately named and intrusted this matter to the Señor Licenciado Don Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín of his Majesty's council and his oidor in this royal audiencia, and to Señor Licenciado Don Martín de Solís Miranda, knight of the Order of Santiago, of his Majesty's council and his fiscal therein; and for matters regarding the liquidation of accounts and calculation of the items, he named Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, factor juez oficial of the real caja of this court. They having attended to these matters and reported, it is to be brought before the first junta. They so resolved and signed it with rubrics, with his excellency. HIS EXCELLENCY. SEÑORES AGURTO, SAN MARTÍN,

VARGAS, MALDONADO; there being present the señores fiscales, PRADO, DEZA, ROSAL, and GUZMÁN.

[*Memorandum of the regulation made . . . in conformity with the auto provided by the junta. Mexico, 1681.*]

Memorandum of the regulation and settlement of accounts which we have made in conformity with the *auto* provided by the general junta of the 10th of the present month, concerning the people for the reduction of New Mexico, presidios, provisions, stores, munitions, and other things necessary, and of the expense which the royal treasury will incur.

The hundred and fifty soldier-settlers, at two hundred and fifty pesos in one payment, amount to thirty-seven thousand five hundred pesos 37,500

The fifty presidial soldiers, at three hundred and fifty pesos, which those of Sinaloa are paid, in which is included an armorer, amount to fifteen thousand seven hundred and fifty pesos 15,750

For ten fanegas of maize daily from the first of March of this year to the first of October, making, for two hundred and fourteen days, two thousand one hundred and forty fanegas, and setting the price of five pesos given by the father custodian in his account, they amount to ten thousand seven hundred pesos 10,700

Two thousand one hundred and forty head of beef cattle, at the rate of ten head a day and for the said time, at a price of four pesos each, which is what the said father custodian gives, amount to eight thousand five hundred and sixty pesos 8,560

One hundred and fifty ploughshares at three pesos, four hundred and fifty 450

Six hundred large hoes at six reales, four hundred and fifty pesos 450

One hundred and fifty Biscayan axes at twenty reales, three hundred and seventy-five pesos 375

Twelve adzes and twelve chisels, sixty pesos 060

Twelve large padlocks with their staples, fifty pesos. 050

Twenty-four pickaxes, which can be given from the armory	000
Twenty-four iron shovels, at twenty reales, sixty pesos	060
A dozen pairs of fetters, one hundred pesos	100
Six collars of two arrobas, with their rings and padlocks, which it is supposed will cost a hundred pesos ...	100
Two hooks, hinges, and padlocks for the stocks, sixteen pesos	016
Four reams of common paper, ten pesos	010
Six iron crowbars of one arroba, forty pesos	040
For the succor which the father procurador states that he gave in the form of clothing, cattle, maize, and wool, to the end of February of this year, twenty-nine thousand two hundred and fifty pesos, from which is to be deducted a balance of nine thousand six hundred and twenty-five pesos which he has in his account for the missionary religious and was obligated to return to the real caja in its entirety. This amount being clear, there should be collected for paying the said contracts nineteen thousand six hundred and twenty-five pesos	19,625
A hundred long carbines from the armory to be distributed among the mounted settlers	
Twenty quintals of powder of good quality, at the rate of four reales, come to one thousand pesos	1,000
Two hundred pesos with which to buy lead in El Parral for shot	200
Four hundred pesos for freight to El Parral of the carbines, powder, ploughshares, axes, fetters, and crowbars, which it appears according to the calculation will be two hundred arrobas	400
	<hr/> 95,446 p.

The said expenditures amount to ninety-five thousand four hundred and forty-six pesos, in which are not included the carbines and the said large hoes, which it is supposed are in the said armory; nor is there included the balance which the said father procurador made in the account which he has presented of the succor of the preceding mission; and there being deducted

from the said ninety-five thousand four hundred and forty-six pesos the forty thousand nine hundred and sixty pesos, comprising two-thirds of that which the royal treasury has to supply for the next mission of the religious and for the equipment of the wagons, the expenditure remaining for the royal treasury amounts to fifty-four thousand four hundred and eighty-six pesos.

The expenses amount to 95,446 pesos
 Two-thirds of the expense of the mission 40,960 pesos
 To be supplied 54,486 pesos
 DON FERNANDO DE DEZA Y ULLOA (rubric).

LICENCIADO GONZALO SUÁREZ DE SAN MARTÍN (rubric);
 LICENCIADO MARTIN DE SOLÍS MIRANDA (rubric).

[*Junta general de hacienda. Mexico, January 17, 1681.*]

In the junta general de hacienda of January 17, 1681, which the most excellent señor, the Count of Paredes, Marquis of La Laguna, member of his Majesty's council, cámara, and junta de guerra de Indias, viceroy, governor, and captain-general of this New Spain and president of its royal audiencia, held with the señores, Licenciado Don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salcedo, knight of the Order of Alcántara; and Licenciado Don Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín, Doctor Don Fructus Delgado, and Licenciado Don Juan Sáez Moreno, oidores of this royal audiencia; and Licenciado Don Jacinto de Vargas Campusano, and Licenciado Don Agustín Felix Maldonado, alcaldes del crimen of it—there being present the señores fiscales of his Majesty, Don Francisco de Prado y Castro and Don Juan Baptista Mendrice, contadores of the tribunal de cuentas of this kingdom; and Factor Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, Treasurer Don Antonio del Rosal, and Contador Don Sebastián de Guzmán, royal officials of this court—there have been seen the *autos* concerning the rebellion of the Indians of the province of New Mexico, and the manner in which Governor Don Antonio de Otermín and the residents who were in the villa of Santa Fe came out, they having withdrawn to this side of El Paso del Río del Norte where they are being maintained with the provisions and succor which the father procurador general and custodian, Fray Fran-

cisco de Ayeta, has supplied them, until such time as the most excellent señor viceroy may make a decision. The junta has seen also that which the said governor and citizens request in order to return for the reduction of the said province and the rebels in it, and that which the señor fiscal of his Majesty has recommended concerning all of it, and they state that they have conferred at length upon it in two preceding general juntas, and considered the gravity and importance of the matter, in which it should be kept in mind that it is very important to the service of God and of his Majesty to act promptly and take the needful and efficacious measures for the reduction [of New Mexico], because there are in that country more than sixteen thousand baptized Indians exposed to joining with the nearby barbarian nations, apostatizing from the Catholic faith, and without evangelical ministers because of their having killed those who are named in the *autos*, and the ones who survive came with the people who escaped from their cruelty and tyranny. They have considered also that if the remedy is not applied immediately it will be more difficult or almost impossible [later], after leaving them [the Indians] for some time in the liberty of conscience which they so desire and have sought, going with the barbarians and heathen; and that if those men who came out of the villa are not employed in the said reduction, they being stimulated thereto by the loss of their wives and children, relatives and property—which has led them to remain in the said El Paso del Río del Norte, suffering so many inconveniences, and hunger and nakedness—they will leave that place, from which two serious results will follow. One is that if it is desired later to attempt the said reduction, and it is not done with those people who are expert and disciplined in the warfare with the said Indians, and familiar with the country, it cannot be carried out without many additional men, who will have to be conducted four or five hundred leagues at a considerable cost. The other inconvenience is that, leaving the said Indians without reduction and subjection, as they are, and failing to take greater care and defensive measures to prevent their again committing the atrocities experienced, is to leave in evident peril the province of Sonora as well as El Parral and

La Nueva Vizcaya, which are surrounded by nearby barbarous nations who infest them constantly. Those of New Mexico keep these nations at a greater distance and the said villa of Santa Fe serves to curb them, and now they can easily enter Sonora and El Parral. There have been considered also the general cédulas of his Majesty and the special one for New Mexico presented in these *autos*, in which he permits expenditures for conserving that already conquered and acquired and for recovering that which may be lost, both of which points apply in the present case; and the fact that this should be done with the greatest economy and saving possible to the royal treasury, so that the remittances of treasure in the flotas shall not be reduced, for it is necessary to the monarchy that this be sent in large quantities. And there having been committed to the señores ministers of this junta, as is apparent from the *autos*, the examination, adjustment, and computation of what the cost of that which the said governor and citizens request would amount to, reducing it to what is indispensable by taking away all that seems not to be necessary for the present, they are informed that to pay the expenses of one hundred and fifty men for the entrada in the manner which is set forth in their memorial, leaving fifty men as presidial guard, paid for one year, with all the rest they ask that has seemed necessary, from which a great deal has been deducted, the total required is ninety-five thousand four hundred and forty-six pesos. In consideration of the fact that there was paid in advance every three years from this royal treasury the amount of sixty-one thousand four hundred and forty pesos for the maintenance of the missionary religious and the equipment of the wagons; and that until the said reduction shall be made it is not necessary to supply the numbers of those who were killed; and that although more than half the said succor belongs to those who remain, according to the settlement which is made for the stipend of each missionary, the father procurador and custodian consents that two-thirds of the said succor be deducted, as long as it is not necessary to send more religious. Whereupon, even though the said deduction may be only in the next consignment, it amounts to forty thousand nine hundred and sixty pesos, which

being deducted from the said ninety-five thousand four hundred and forty-six pesos, the expenditure remaining to the royal treasury will be fifty-four thousand four hundred and eighty-six pesos, the greater part of which can be made after the silver for remittance with the present flota has come in, and without touching it. All the said gentlemen agreeing, as they do, that the said action and the expenditure which is planned for it is indispensable, they resolved and decided that the memorandum and reckoning made by the señores, Don Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín, oidor, and Don Martín de Solís Miranda, fiscal, and Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, factor of the royal treasury, in conference with the father procurador and custodian, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, be placed with these *autos*, and that in accordance with them they be given a hundred and fifty men able to bear arms, from those who came out of the said villa of Santa Fe and are settled in El Paso del Río del Norte, a hundred and fifty leagues distant from the said villa, at two hundred and fifty pesos each for one year, to go on the said expedition, out of which they are to maintain themselves and buy horses; a hundred of the largest carbines that are in the arsenal to distribute among the mounted settlers who are to go for the said reduction; twenty quintals of powder of good quality at the rate of four reales, which the contractor will furnish to his Majesty, there being none which should be given to his Majesty gratis; and two hundred pesos for the purchase of lead in El Parral for making shot. For safeguarding the people and the rabble [of Indians] who may remain and are now in El Paso del Río del Norte, and so that the enemy may not pass to Sonora and El Parral, a presidio is to be formed, while a report is being made to his Majesty, with fifty men paid a salary of three hundred and fifty pesos annually, which is what those of the presidio of Sinaloa receive, and among them is to be an armorer who for his salary alone is to have the obligation of repairing the arms. None of the said soldiers of the presidio are to be from among those who returned from the said kingdom of New Mexico and are assembled in the said El Paso del Río del Norte, but from those who are in El Parral, Sonora, and their environs who have come from New Mexico in former

years, and in default of these, any others from the said places whom the governor may enlist. The founding of the said presidio is committed to him, and after the said province shall be reduced, and with the approval of his Majesty, it will be moved to the place which may seem best to the señor viceroy. In view of the fact that the one thousand nine hundred persons who came from the said villa find it impossible to sustain themselves in the place of El Paso on the said river, having been unable to plant crops and having nothing with which to cultivate the soil; and that by the disposition and provision of the said father procurador and custodian they have been succored with ten fanegas of maize and ten head of beef cattle daily until the end of February of this year; and that to prevent their abandoning the country it seems necessary to continue the said succor from the first of March to the first of October of this said year, by which time it seems that they will have been able to raise some crops, and the said hundred and fifty settlers will have to leave to make the reduction; let them be aided with the same ten fanegas of maize and ten head of cattle each day from the said first of March to the first of October. The said governor and the said father procurador will distribute it, they being in that place and not with the missionary fathers, with the understanding that this assistance is not to continue after the said first day of October, so that they will provide themselves with crops. In order to supply the said maize and cattle, let credit be extended from these royal officials to those of El Parral, assuring payment. Let there be sent [also] one hundred and fifty ploughshares, six hundred large hoes, a hundred and fifty Biscayan axes, twelve adzes and twelve chisels, twelve large padlocks with their staples, twenty-four pick-axes from those which are in the arsenal, twenty-four iron shovels for the presidio, twelve pairs of fetters and six chains of two arrobas with their collars and padlocks, two hinges and padlocks for the stocks, six iron crowbars of twenty-five pounds, four reams of common paper, and four hundred pesos for freight to El Parral for more than two hundred arrobas, which is the estimated weight of the carbines, powder, ploughshares, axes, chains, fetters, and padlocks. All these things are to be delivered to

the governor, who will distribute them with care and moderation and in the manner that seems best and most convenient to him, so that they may serve the common good. He is to give the said settlers to understand that after the said reduction is made they will be sent a copy of the privileges granted to settlers which are found in the royal cédulas and ordinances for their good government. With regard to the fact that the said father procurador and custodian spent in the succor which he gave the said people, and in their maintenance up to the said last day of February of this year, the sum of twenty-nine thousand two hundred and fifty pesos, let him be satisfied by deducting the balance that was made or may be made in his favor in the account which he has presented, from the amount for three years in advance which is delivered to him for the mission of the said New Mexico, and let him be thanked for the kindness and promptness with which he has acted in order to maintain and save the said people. In view of the fact that the place where the said people have settled down, according to the demarcation of boundaries, is in the territory of the government of La Nueva Vizcaya, his excellency, if he sees fit, may order that for the present and during the progress of the said reduction the governor of New Mexico shall use and exercise jurisdiction where he is as if he were in the villa of Santa Fe. Likewise, let the party of the Order of Saint Francis remain obligated, as it offers, to maintain the wagons, mules, and the men who manage them in the form which is stated in its petition. Finally let a literal report of these *autos* be given to his Majesty. They so resolved, and signed it with rubrics, with his excellency. (Rubric.) HIS EXCELLENCY; Señores AGURTO, SAN MARTÍN, DELGADO, MORENO, VARGAS, MALDONADO; there being present the señores fiscales, PRADO, MENDRICE, DEZA, ROSAL, and GUZMÁN.

[*Report and petition of Fray Francisco de Ayeta. Mexico, January, 1681.*]

Most Excellent Sir: Fray Francisco de Ayeta, religious, procurador of the seraphic Order of Saint Francis, procurador general spiritual and temporal of the provinces of New Mexico and

custodian visitador in them, and commissary general of the Holy Office, says: That in the general junta of the 17th of the present month in which was discussed the succor of the said provinces, it was stated:

"That they have conferred upon it at length in two preceding general juntas, and considered the gravity and importance of the matter, and its being to the service of God and of his Majesty that prompt action should be taken to apply the needful and efficacious measures for the reduction [of New Mexico] because there are in that country more than sixteen thousand baptized Indians exposed to joining with the nearby barbarian nations, and if the remedy is not applied immediately it will be more difficult or nearly impossible [later], after leaving them [the Indians] for some time in liberty of conscience, which they so desire, as they will attempt to unite with the said barbarian Indians, and will in addition endanger greatly by their invasions the provinces of Sonora and El Parral, and La Nueva Vizcaya, which are surrounded by the said barbarian nations. . . ."

These considerations, most excellent Sir, and others of great consequence advanced by the said general junta, lead the suppliant to represent to your excellency that, in order that your holy zeal in the service of God and of his Majesty may become effective, it is necessary that your excellency be pleased immediately (so that the succor may arrive in time and the money and the labor may not be lost) to issue a dispatch stating what person is to receive the credit which the royal officials of this court are to advance to those of El Parral, assuring the successful conveyance of the supplies to those who are in El Paso del Río del Norte, for the said junta omitted to do this, and although it is seen that the operation is for the benefit of the said soldiers, they themselves are destitute of all means, and the provisioning requires a person wholly trustworthy.

Another dispatch should be issued, most excellent Sir, naming the person to whom there is to be paid in this real caja the money for the purchase, collection, and delivery of the goods mentioned in the said general junta, which are to be carried to the said El Paso del Río del Norte, so that he may do this

and everything connected with it with all exactness, providing in particular for the expenses of the pack trains which will carry the said goods.

The twenty quintals of powder which the contractor is to deliver must be packed in their linen covers and chests in the accustomed manner, for which purpose an order must also be issued, so that the said contractor may do it promptly. For all the above reasons and so that not an hour of time may be lost in this dispatch, in which lies its success or failure,

I beg and petition that your excellency be pleased to direct that the said orders be issued immediately, in which the suppliant, in his concern as an affectionate vassal of his Majesty, will receive the consolation and relief which he expects from the greatness of your excellency; and he requests literal certified copies of all the *autos* concerning the matter, in duplicate, in order to submit them to his Majesty. FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA (rubric).

[*Junta general de hacienda. Mexico, January 24, 1681.*]

In the junta general de hacienda of January 24, 1681, in which there were present with his excellency the señores, Licenciado Don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salcedo, knight of the Order of Alcántara, and Licenciado Don Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín, oidores of this royal audiencia; and Licenciado Don Jacinto de Vargas Campusano, alcalde del crimen of it—there being present also the señores fiscales of his Majesty, Don Francisco de Prado y Castro, and Don Juan Baptista Mendrice, contadores of the tribunal de cuentas of this kingdom; and Factor Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, and Contador Don Sebastián de Guzmán y Córdoba, jueces oficiales reales of this court—they having seen the consulta and petition of the father visitador and procurador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, it was resolved by common accord that his excellency be pleased to name the said father procurador to return to those provinces and take the succor which is granted for their restoration, and that he designate and appoint satisfactory and experienced persons through whom the jueces oficiales reales of this court can give credit and draw the amounts that may be necessary to

give entire effect to that resolved upon. For to intrust the administration of this succor to anyone other than the father procurador general is to endanger a matter of such consequence, particularly when the person of the said father procurador is so recommended by the experience which has been had of his operations—reasons which have impelled this junta to supply this succor—and it cannot be accomplished by any other hands than his. The goods that are to go from here are to be obtained at public auction, and if none are put up they shall be bought through the agency of the factor with the intervention of the said father procurador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta. They so resolved and signed it with rubrics, with his excellency. His EXCELLENCY; Señores AGURTO, SAN MARTÍN, VARGAS; there being present the señores fiscales of his Majesty, PRADO, MENDRICE, DEZA, and GUZMÁN.

[*Petition of Fray Francisco de Ayeta to the Viceroy. Mexico, January 28, 1681.*]

Most Excellent Sir: Fray Francisco de Ayeta of the Order of the seraphic father, Saint Francis, custodio habitual of the provinces of New Mexico and commissary general of the Holy Office, states: That he has been notified of the *auto* of the general junta over which your excellency presided on the 24th of the present month, which is pleased to honor his insignificance by ordering that he return to the said provinces and take the succor which has been decided upon for their restoration, pacification, and tranquillity, a favor and a confidence for which he humbly thanks your excellency. He represents to you that he is not at liberty to execute your excellency's command promptly, inasmuch as he finds himself with the royal cedula granting permission to pass to the kingdoms of Castile, and with the patent, which he exhibits with this writing, in which he is summoned by his commissary general of all the Indies to exercise the ministry of procurador general of all the provinces of this New Spain, to which his superior prelates who are serving in these parts have given their full consent, it having been read before the whole chapter. With regard to this it seems, most excellent Sir, that because it is a matter enjoined under obedi-

ence to the Order there is no course left to his prelates by which they can disregard the patent, or to the suppliant except to represent to your excellency, desiring to give entire satisfaction, that it is not his wish, though he has impaired his health in these peregrinations, to evade hardship and, if it should be necessary, to lose one or a thousand lives, if he had them, in the service of his natural lord and king, whom God keep and prosper as a firm column of the church. He can only exhibit the impediment with which he finds himself, suffering the affliction of not being able to attend to both matters in which he is so obligated, and being unable to make a choice, desiring with all his heart on the one hand to obey his superiors as a religious, and on the other to obey not only the orders but the intimations of your excellency, as a loyal vassal and most grateful chaplain of his Majesty, whom God keep. Therefore, he begs and requests that in view of the said patent, your excellency, with your sovereign foresight, be pleased to decide upon that which you may see fit, holding it as certain that the suppliant desires only to apply himself with blind obedience to the service of both Majesties, without more willingness, desire, or inclination to the temporal convenience and honor which his Order confers upon him, than to the fatigues and hardships which will inevitably accompany his return to the service of the said provinces. For there can be no doubt that your excellency will act in everything with the accustomed effectiveness of your great Christianity and zeal, etc. FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA (rubric). Mexico, January 28, 1681.

[In the margin:] To the señor fiscal (rubric).

[*Patent of Fray Juan Luengo to Fray Francisco de Ayeta. Madrid, January 25, 1680.*]

Fray Juan Luengo, lecturer in theology, perpetual father of the holy provinces of Los Angeles, and commissary general of all the provinces of the West Indies, of the regular observance of the Order of our holy father, Saint Francis, with plenary powers, etc., to the Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta, custodian of New Mexico and procurador general of that custodia, health and peace in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Whereas, our holy province of El Santo Evangelio de Mexico has important business that should be discussed in this court of Madrid, there being no procurador to endeavor to expedite it, as is needed, we therefore have desired for a long time past to have as procurador some religious who is a son of the same province, so that he would regard it affectionately as a mother, lamenting its losses and looking to its welfare. We have been unable to accomplish this purpose for various reasons, and though all those who govern that province are obligated before everything else to look to its growth, because of its being the most important one of New Spain, they have given it hitherto procuradores who are strangers, from which many losses have originated. Observing now in your reverence, as we do, all the qualities necessary for this ministry as its procurador, you being a son of the province, and having sought more than others for its welfare, suffering many hardships and fatigues therein, as has been seen in your management of New Mexico, and being experienced in the business of this court because of having been here in former times and having managed and conducted it with entire prudence and efficiency; and confiding now, as we do, in the same talents of your reverence, by the present letters signed by our hand, sealed with the great seal of our office and countersigned by our secretary (using all our exclusive authority of this commissariat which we hold over all these provinces of the Indies and over all their friars and affairs, in such manner that there can be no prelate who can impede us in it) we name and appoint your lordship as procurador general of that our province of El Santo Evangelio, and in the same manner and with the same authority we name and create your reverence procurador general of all the provinces of New Spain, so that you may attend and apply yourself to its business, for which purpose the said provinces will give you the necessary means. For the practice of each province sending its procurador, as has been the custom, multiplies expenses and travels on the part of the friars, most of the time to no purpose. It seems an extraordinary thing that one procurador general in Rome is sufficient for the whole Order, which is extended throughout the world; and in Madrid one missionary at court for all Spain, which has

so many provinces; and that one procurador general would not be sufficient for that New Spain, which has a very much smaller number of provinces. If this manner of government should be adopted, much expenditure and much useless activity on the part of the friars would be eliminated. So that your reverence may not lack authority, we order you under holy obedience and in virtue of the Holy Spirit that you accept the said office of procurador general of New Spain, and under the same obedience and in virtue of the Holy Spirit we order that none of our inferiors shall place any obstacle or impediment in your way, upon any pretext, to prevent your coming in the flota which is to leave Spain for those parts in this year of 1680. On the contrary, all are to assist your coming and to supply you with all the means necessary for the voyage, for maintaining yourself in this court, and for exercising fittingly the office of procurador general of the province of El Santo Evangelio de Mexico and of the rest of New Spain. Given in this convent of San Francisco de Madrid, on January 25, 1680. FRAY JUAN LUENGO, commissary general of the Indies (rubric). (A seal.) By order of his lordship. FRAY ALONSO LUENGO, secretary general of the Indies (rubric).

[*Royal Cedula. Madrid, February 14, 1680.*]

The King. Whereas, on behalf of Fray Francisco de Ayeta of the Order of Saint Francis, it has been represented to me that he is custodian and procurador general in the provinces of New Mexico, and from the letter and *autos* which he has sent me there is apparent the very particular service which, in virtue of the order of Maestre Don Fray Payo de Rivera, archbishop of the church of Mexico and my viceroy and captain-general of New Spain, he has done in the said provinces of New Mexico, I am requested that, since he has information to give to me in person concerning matters of my service, I be pleased to grant him permission to come to these kingdoms. Having examined the matter in my royal Council of the Indies, together with that which their commissary general of the Order of Saint Francis, who resides in this court, reported concerning it, I have seen fit to grant the said Fray Francisco de Ayeta the permission

which he asks. I accordingly by these presents order my viceroy of New Spain and my royal audiencia of Mexico, and the other judges and justices of all those provinces that, it being clear to them that he has the permission of his superior to come to these kingdoms, they are to allow him to make his voyage to them on the first occasion that may offer for the said purpose, without placing in his way any obstacle or impediment whatever, on condition that he do so at his own expense and not be given anything from the royal treasury for it. Such is my will. Done in Madrid on February 14, 1680. I THE KING (rubric). By order of the king, our lord. JOSEPH DE VEITIA LINAGE (rubric). Duplicate (rubric).

Permit to Fray Francisco de Ayeta, of the Order of Saint Francis, residing in the provinces of New Mexico, to come at his own expense to these kingdoms. Corrected (rubric). [On the reverse:] (Four rubrics).

[*Reply of the fiscal. Mexico, January 28, 1681.*]

Most Excellent Sir: His Majesty's fiscal says that he has seen this petition and the documents that are presented with it by Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta, procurador general of the province of New Mexico, by which he represents that, there having been made known to him the *auto* which your excellency was pleased to provide on the 24th of the current month, with agreement of the general junta, in which it was resolved that the suppliant should return to those provinces and take the succor which is granted for the restoration of the said provinces of New Mexico, he finds himself impeded in the execution of the said order and journey in view of the fact that by the patent which he presents from the most reverend father commissary general of the Indies, he is ordered under holy obedience to go to the kingdoms of Castile in the present flota, to exercise the ministry of procurador general of all the provinces of this New Spain, for which voyage he has obtained the permission of his Majesty, as is apparent from the royal cedula which he likewise exhibits, dated February 14 of the past year of 1680. He represents that although he respects most humbly the honors which your excellency confers upon him, he finds it impossible as a

son of obedience to fail to comply with the precept of his superior, not being moved by the honors and conveniences which his Order confers upon him, and having no other will than to desire the service of both Majesties, nor more inclination toward the comforts and repose for which he could hope in the said ministry, since it has already been passed upon by the chapter, than to the fatigues and hardships which would necessarily come to him on returning to the task of the restoration of the said province. He therefore begs that your excellency be pleased, in view of the said documents, to make the decision which seems best to you; he says that he is ready (in so far as it may concern him) to execute with blind obedience the orders given him.

That which occurs to us regarding this matter, most excellent Sir, is that it ought to be considered that intrusting the administration of the succor to any other person than the said father procurador general, besides endangering a matter of such importance as the restoration of that province and the reduction of sixteen thousand apostate souls who remain in it, will very evidently imperil all the sums which will be paid out from the royal treasury for this purpose, since to whatever person the said administration may be committed, whether he be secular or a religious (besides not having shown the qualifications of fidelity, labor, and activity which the said father procurador general has manifested on so many occasions), he being new in those provinces and without experience, everything will be hazarded. Furthermore, since the good result which is hoped for is dependent upon the vigilance and care of the said father procurador general, it should also be considered that in the recovery of the said province the Order is equally interested, because of the many missionaries whom it has serving there, and because failure would destroy the labor and fruit that the many apostolic men who have served in the said province have spent and gained, shedding their blood and losing their lives to advance the holy Catholic faith and extend evangelical preaching. There must not be overlooked the consideration that if now the administration of the thirty wagons is given to an inexperienced person, the management and equipment of them will be very difficult,

and it does not appear fitting that the Order withdraw the said father procurador general at the time of a most arduous and exacting task. Upon his management and activity, along with his experience, depends the attainment of success.

Although it is true that the said father procurador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, could not of his own will refuse the precept which the said patent imposes upon him, nor could the superiors of this kingdom impede him in the use of it, inasmuch as it orders them also under holy obedience that no one offer him impediments or obstacles, on any pretext, to his passing to Castile in the present flota, nevertheless, examining and considering the motives which are here represented, and considering that it will be to the service of both Majesties for him to suspend the voyage for the present, and that there be intrusted to him the administration of the said succor, it seems, if your excellency sees fit, that there should be dispatched an order of petition and request to the effect that the said father procurador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, suspend his voyage in the present flota. The same should be intimated also to the most reverend father commissary general of these provinces so that in consideration of the new circumstances which have arisen after the date of the said patent, he may charge him, under the precept of obedience, that for the present he not make use of it, and that he accept the administration of the succor with which he is intrusted by your excellency. This will be without prejudice to the right which he has acquired to the said procuracion general, and on condition that, the said province of New Mexico having been recovered and reduced, the said father procurador general remains empowered and free to use the said patent and nomination as procurador general of all the provinces of New Spain. It is very fitting that your excellency's grandeur see to it that for this reason the said father procurador general shall not lose the honors and conveniences which his Order has conferred upon him, and that you inform the Council and the most reverend father commissary general of the Indies how much he was needed for this enterprise, so that the suspension of the voyage may serve him as an advancement and additional recommendation. It seems that your excellency may proceed to

do this, in consideration of the most urgent necessity [that exists], and that since your excellency has the power to expel any religious and send him to the kingdoms of Castile whenever there may be just cause for it, it appears that with greater reason your excellency should and does have power to detain a religious whose presence in these provinces is as necessary as has been demonstrated in the present case. In view of this, your excellency will resolve and order what you consider best, and is to the greater service of his Majesty. Mexico, January 28, 1681. LICENCIADO MARTÍN DE SOLÍS MIRANDA (rubric).

Mexico, January 30, 1681. To the general junta.

[*Junta general de hacienda. Mexico, February 1, 1681.*]

In the junta general de hacienda of January [February] 1, 1681, in which there attended with his excellency the señores, Licenciado Don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salcedo, knight of the Order of Alcántara, and Doctor Don Fructus Delgado, oidores of this royal audiencia; and Licenciado Don Jacinto de Vargas Campusano, alcalde del crimen of it—there being present also the señores fiscales of his Majesty, Don Juan Baptista Mendrice, contador of the tribunal de cuentas of this kingdom, Factor Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, Treasurer Don Antonio del Rosal, and Contador Don Sebastián de Guzmán y Córdoba, royal officials of this court—there having been seen the petition of the father procurador general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, and the reply of the señor fiscal of his Majesty, they decided in accordance with the señor fiscal's request. They so resolved and signed it with rubrics, with his excellency (rubric).

[*Notification. Mexico, February 7, 1681.*]

In the city of Mexico on the 7th day of the month of February, 1681, I, the clerk, notified the Most Reverend Father Fray Domingo de Noriega, religious of the Order of the seraphic Saint Francis and commissary general of these provinces of New Spain, of the above *auto* of the junta and of the reply of the señor fiscal of his Majesty on the preceding folio. He having heard and understood it fully, he summoned the Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta, a religious of the said order,

commissary visitador and procurador general of New Mexico and of all the provinces of New Spain in the court of his Majesty, and he ordered him under holy obedience, without prejudice to the office which he holds at present of procurador general of all New Spain, to accept and obey the orders which his Majesty [his excellency?] gives him, and suspend the voyage to Spain for the present. Having listened with great humility, the said Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta replied that he obeyed with entire willingness that which he was ordered in the service of his Majesty, not only in case he should retain the office which the order conferred upon him, but, if it should be convenient, without retaining it, as a loyal vassal of his Majesty. He so replied, and it passed before me and they signed it, to which I certify, as well as to the fact that I know the above-mentioned persons. FRAY DOMINGO DE NORIEGA, commissary general of New Spain; FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA. Before me, JOSEPH DEL CASTILLO, public clerk.